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ABSTRACT

This document contains chapter 6 of the final report of the Project on Social Architecture in Education. Five case studies were produced from the data collected at each site, using a common outline developed from the conceptual framework. Chapter 6 is about two schools that emphasized open education in new open-space settings, in a small, suburban district. Each case provides a general overview of the school as it now exists, then backtracks to its early history. The flow of planning and implementation over time is followed closely, with descriptive sections alternating with analysis and commentary. A summary of the school's degree of success, and explanations for it, is followed by commentary from participants in the case and general conclusions. (Author/MLF)

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PROJECT ON SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE IN EDUCATION

Final Report

Part III: Case Studies

Chapter 6

Open Space Schools

A Case Study of Two Open-Space Elementary Schools

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Final Report

Part III: Case Studies

Chapter 6

WESTGATE SCHOOLS

A Case Study of Two Open-Space Elementary Schools

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From Final Report to National Institute of Education, Grant NIE-G-74-0051. Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: a Field Study of Social Architecture in Education. Matthew B. Miles, Principal Investigator.

December, 1978

Introductory Note

This volume is a portion of the Final Report, Grant NIE-G-74-0051, "Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: a Field Study of Social Architecture in Education," Matthew B. Miles, Principal Investigator.

The Final Report contains the following parts:

Part I: Introduction

1. Executive Summary
2. New Schools as a Strategy for Educational Improvement
3. Planning and Implementing New Schools: a General Framework

Part II: Research Methods

4. Project Overview
5. Research Methods
   Appendices

Part III: Case Studies

6. Westgate Schools: a case study of two open-space elementary schools
7. Change and Conflict: educational innovation in community context
8. Innovation in Lakeport
   College High School: a planning case study
   The Founding of Julius Appelbaum High School
9. Arts Co-op: an experimental high school program

Part IV: Conclusions

10. Reflections on the Case Studies
11. Implications and Advice

Part V: Mapping New Schools: a series of new-school planning guides

1. Setting the stage for planning
2. Designing your school
3. Mapping your school's environment
4. Making your school work

The Project on Social Architecture in Education has been supported by funds from the National Institute of Education, and from Teacher Corps. The contents of this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Institute of Education, or the Teacher Corps.

Acknowledgements

The Project on Social Architecture in Education has engaged the active energies of many people over the past four years. The core research staff responsible for this Final Report were Matthew B. Miles, Ellen W. Sullivan, Barry A. Gold, Beverly Loy Taylor, Sam D. Sieber and David E. Wilder. Their specific writing contributions and their ongoing roles are identified in the Report. The value of four years of satisfying work together goes far beyond any acknowledgement that can be given here.

Dale G. Lake collaborated closely in the creation of the Project and was a strong co-investigator during the first year, with staff members Bunty Ketcham, Denise Burch, and Julie Quain.

We are very grateful for the additional field work efforts of Wynne Galanter, Dan Lauffer, Alaka Wali, Robin Geller, and Wamboi Kironde.

Professor Rein van der Vegt of the University of Nijmegen, as visiting research associate, was especially helpful in conceptualization, instrumentation, project planning, and manuscript review. He also provided generous secretarial and support services at Nijmegen during the spring of 1978.

Joe Lopatin and Peter Abrams of Calculogic, Inc. managed our data processing with competence and speed.

Jolene Vrchota, Thomas Cook, and Joan Charles provided coding and clerical assistance; administrative and secretarial support came from Ann Wechsler, Anita McCabe, and Gay Gaskins. The Final Report was meticulously, even cheerfully, typed by Judy Woolcock, Evelyn Ledyard and Audrey McGhie.

We appreciated very much the competent fiscal and administrative services of Stephanie Clohesy and Sophie Sa of the Center for Policy Research. Parallel thanks to Paul Collins and Jay Sexter of Fordham University, who administered our Teacher Corps funds.

Several dozen colleagues assisted the project with manuscript review, came to our work conferences, and advised on project planning and strategy. They are named at appropriate places in the Report. Here we mention with gratitude those who served in our pool of consultants to school sites: Billie Alban, Marc Bassin, Peter Block, Lloyd Bishop, Bob Chasnoff, Felicia Clark, Al Fitz, Ann Lieberman, Peter Muniz, Saul Pilnick, Herb Shepard, and Mary Hunter Wolf.

We want to express our strong appreciation to William L. Smith, the director of Teacher Corps, who provided warm encouragement and support for our early exploratory work, and for the intensive development of learning materials. And we do not think any project of this sort has ever had better project officers than ours at NIE proved to be: Mary Milne, Charles Thompson, Elisabeth Hansot and Fritz Mulhauser gave thoughtful commentary, steady stimulation, and sustained support.

Perhaps our most helpful collaborators must go unidentified. The several hundred people from our six schools whose work we studied were far from being mere objects of study. Many gave active energy to helping us think through the issues of planning and implementation in new schools. They gave us full and thorough access, and many gave extra time. The study would have been impossible without their help. We know from some, and hope for all, that their learning has been as valuable as ours.

Overview of the Case Studies

Each of the case studies in Part III of the Final Report was based on two to three years' documentation of the planning and implementation of a complete new school for which innovative expectations were held. Our aims were to follow what happened along the way as carefully as possible; to describe, and if possible explain the processes that occurred; and to show how these processes were related to the achievement, revision or abandonment of the original innovative hopes. We believe we have been successful. We hope readers will test that belief carefully as they proceed.

The five case studies include:

Miles, M.B., Westgate Schools: a case study of two open-space elementary schools.

These schools emphasized open education in new open-space settings, in a small, suburban district.

Gold, B.A., with M.B.Miles, Change and conflict: educational innovation in community context.

A new, open-space elementary school came into severe conflict with its suburban community, Lincoln Acres.

Miles, M.B., E.W. Sullivan, and B.A. Gold, College High School: a planning case study.

This experimental high school, involving collaboration between the Lakeport urban school district and a college, was not implemented.

Sieber, S.D., and M.B. Miles, The founding of Julius Appelbaum High School.

A new high school for business careers was set in the same urban school district, reaching out to the local business community.

Sullivan, E.W., Arts Co-op: a case study of an experimental high school program.

This jointly-sponsored school brought practicing artists together with students from an urban and several suburban school districts.

We should express here our warm appreciation to the people whose work we studied during the years of our project. They must remain anonymous through the pseudonyms we have given them, but they are far from anonymous to us. They were not only almost unfailingly cordial and helpful to our efforts, but also supplied useful corrections and interpretations to draft versions of the cases. They taught us a great deal during the course of the project, and we are happy to say that many told us they had learned from the experience themselves.

In drafting the cases from a data base which usually involved several thousand pages of field notes, documents, and questionnaire data, we soon found that they could not be forced into a standard length. Each case is as long as its authors considered necessary for a thorough understanding of what occurred.

The cases were all guided by the general framework of ideas outlined in Part I, although each naturally has some idiosyncratic features.

The case studies have been organized according to a common format to permit easy comparison. Each one provides a general overview of the school as it now exists, then backtracks to its early history. We then see the flow of planning and implementation over time. A summary assessment of each school's success, and our explanations, are followed by commentary from participants in each school, who offer their views on what happened and why.

A Table of Contents at the front of each case is designed to provide an overview of the case structure, and enable rapid access to its parts.

It should be noted that the flow of each case separates sections which describe the events and processes ("Chronology") from those which provide interpretations ("Analysis and Commentary"). Thus the reader can more easily see whether alternative interpretations are possible.

We have already found these cases very productive for teaching and training purposes. It works well to give learners the cases in sequenced segments. They first see a "Chronology" section, then develop their own interpretations, and predictions of what will happen next. Then they receive the "Analysis and Commentary" section before proceeding to the next "Chronology" section, and so on.

The reader interested in general conclusions drawn from all five case studies should refer to Part IV of the Final Report.

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WESTGATE SCHOOLS

A Case Study of Two Open-Space Elementary Schools

Westgate might be called an "immediate suburb". It straddles the six lanes of an interstate highway, a short drive from a medium-sized city. Almost all the people who have moved into the high-rise apartments sprinkled through Westgate work in the city.

The older parts of Westgate are quiet streets filled with one and two family houses on small plots; the feeling is more that of a village than that of the more land-rich suburbs to the east and south. But it remains a somewhat tacky and dispersed village, split as it is by the interstate, which receives traffic from a half-dozen highways and a parkway. Its "downtown" is dominated by interstate ramps, fast-food outlets, office buildings and parking lots. Westgate is not large -- 35,000 -- and it is only a mile and a half across. Its boundaries are closely constrained by a riverfront and the adjacent towns, and the sense of neighborhood is still reasonably strong, though the advent of the high-rises during the last decade has loosened and disturbed that sense. Traditionally a lower-middle class town, with an ethnic flavor mostly Italian and Greek, with some WASPS, it has shifted its socio-economic mix slightly upward as more city-based professionals, many of them Jewish, moved in. There is a growing Japanese sub-community accounting for 7% of families, many of them managers working temporarily in the city's electronics firms.

This case study was prepared from field notes, documents and questionnaire data collected by project field staff between September 1975 and January 1978. It has been distributed for correction and commentary to a limited number of school personnel. This version incorporates their corrections, and includes commentary both as footnotes and at the end of the study. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to field workers Ellen Sullivan, Wamboi Kironde, Dan Lauffer and Wynne Galanter, who contributed not only most of the data base but many ideas for its analysis reported here.

I am grateful to Rein van der Vegt for his colleaguely suggestions and institutional support, and to Marja Termeer for her excellent manuscript preparation.

So Westgate's stable, small-town atmosphere has shifted somewhat in recent years. Our survey of parents in the two schools we studied showed that 42% felt that "we belong here and this is our home community", 34% felt "quite close to the community" but did "not consider Westgate their home community"; the remainder said they did not feel very close or felt like strangers. So though there is still a core of community-identified parents, a bit over half of the parents we surveyed were, so to speak, passing through.

Even with these recent changes, the Westgate school system has remained relatively stable and traditionally-oriented. Up to 15% of teachers grew up (and now live) in Westgate; the superintendent (referred to even out of his sight as Mr. Bond) is a courtly gentleman who grew up in Westgate and has served for 23 years (he was high school principal for 11 years before that). John Manganaro, the assistant superintendent for instruction, grew up in town, and has been employed by the district for 23 years. Two of the principals have worked in Westgate for 25 years. There are four elementary schools, a middle school built in 1958, and a high school dating from 1929; altogether 3,400 students are involved. As we shall see, the pervasive sense is that of a closely-managed, stable school district which was slow to adopt the curricular and instructional reforms of the 60's.

The traditional, pragmatic flavor of the school system is perhaps exemplified by the fact that the four elementary schools, rather than being named for national heroes, neighborhoods, or local educators, are identified above their doorways simply as School No. 1, School No. 2, School No. 3, and School No. 4.

In 1973, Westgate administrators realized that they would need to expand and update the elementary school facilities. School No. 2, one of the schools we studied, is a completely new building designed for open-space teaching, and School No. 3 has an open-space addition. Both opened for students in the fall of 1976. Shortly, we will review the events through which Westgate came to have such schools; first, it may be useful to supply some feeling for what the two schools might seem like to a visitor on a typical day in the late spring of 1977.

School No. 2. School No. 2 is on a residential street a few blocks from a main state highway feeding off the interstate. It looks rather like one of the office buildings that dot Westgate's downtown. Its blocky forms are spread over three levels, facing two patios; a modest-sized playing field is hidden behind the school. A visitor coming through the glass doors off the lower patio is greeted by Mrs. Gallo, the secretary. An aide or a special teacher may be working in the outer office on files. A couple of mothers from the PTA may be talking about an upcoming meeting. The principal, Edward Pallacino, may be talking to a misbehaving student in his small office. Or more likely than not he will be checking a ditto machine to see why it hasn't been running correctly, or preparing a notice to teachers (who will initial the notice as it is sent around to show they have read it).

Pallacino is silver-haired, neatly dressed. Since 1956, he was the principal of the old School No. 2, demolished in the summer of 1976 while the new building was in its final stages.

Mr. Pallacino (as teachers always refer to him) has a warm smile, but is a little stiff at first. Most of the things he talks to a visitor about initially are not people -- students, teacher or parents -- but aspects of equipment, materials, or the schedule that do not seem to be working quite right.

The school includes about 400 students, sorted into grades kindergarten through 6th. Most of the grade levels are located in large octagonal spaces called "pods". The floors are carpeted; low bookcases divide the pods into teaching areas. Children's art is on the walls, and working at tables, usually in small groups or individually, are the children themselves, mostly White with a sprinkling of Oriental faces. They seem bright, verbal, intent on their work. Two to three teachers, and perhaps a student teacher will be working in various regions of the pod. Though there is a hum of activity, one rarely gets a feeling that children are acting disruptively or noisily. A visitor will usually see a wide range of activities going on; children working at learning centers, a teacher helping a small group of students, other children working individually on math or language arts learning packets.

Often a teacher will be working with a class of 24 children as a whole (for example, Mrs. Hoffster's fifth grade class might be doing a group art project on the Revolutionary War).

A visitor will also note that teaching practices differ a good deal from pod to pod. Mrs. Parsons and Ms. Hartz, the kindergarten teachers, work separately with their classes, directing children rather carefully and closely. In the first grade, a visitor will note that either Sandy Mikva or Janet Schwaber might be teaching all the children in a math or reading lesson, but more typically all three classes would be separately led by a teacher through the same lesson; Adrienne Moravia might have taken a group to a quieter work space nearby, while her student teacher worked in the pod with the larger group. In the second grade, Helen Kazantzakis might be teaching a language arts lesson to some students, while Maria Hohning was doing math with others and Sally Soames had a small group in social studies. Here, as in most of the pods, teachers seem easy about talking to a visitor about what they are doing while children are working independently at learning centers, individually or in small groups. They mention that they have enjoyed their planning and working together, and are pleased that they will be working with each other again next year. In the third grade, a visitor might notice that Marian Richman, Janne Schweiz, and Rita Bonomi were grading papers and discussing the next day's reading and math activities while their students were divided between the P.E. teacher and one of the visiting music teachers. Marian will shift to the 6th grade next year, and be replaced by a new teacher from School No. 3. In the fourth grade, it might seem difficult to tell which students "belonged" to

which teacher: either Nadine Mann or Jeanne Viaggio might be working with the total group of students, with some from each class who were setting up their own store, or making a conveyor belt, or doing exercises in new math. Next year Mrs. Viaggio will be moved to the sixth pod; a visitor might sense she is not happy about it. In the fifth grade pod, two teachers, Mary Hahn and Ken Mottola, would typically be working rather closely together, but Adele Hoffster would be working largely by herself with a group of students in the neighboring pod. Next year she'll move to the 4th pod with Mrs. Mann's team. Angela Fiori, the only sixth grade teacher, might be experimenting with having students tutoring each other, or editing the student-written newspaper, while some students are at learning centers or doing a special project. She'll be joined in the fall by Mrs. Viaggio and Marian Richman -- both teachers who like open space teaching.

The teachers' room is light and bright; a coffepot is on, and two or three teachers who have a non-teaching period are grading papers, chatting from time to time about things unrelated to school.

Joseph Krupcik's colorful media center is dotted with children working busily on their own; a couple are cataloging new books, and two girls are checking out an 8mm. film projector.

A visit to the office of the school nurse, Jane Costanza, who is a friendly, approachable woman, might yield the interesting information that far fewer students and teachers had come to her this spring for aspirins and vague complaints than had been the case during the stressful days last fall when school was starting up. And in the guidance office Sandra Hartmann, busy talking with a teacher about teaching strategies, might look up and make a similar comment about how well things were going now.

As the end of the day approaches, parents begin appearing in the patio, and buses line the street. There's a restless bustle of children putting away their work and getting clothing and filing out. Then, suddenly, they are gone. Here and there a few teachers are conferring, or working alone. As on most days, there is no general faculty meeting. By 3:30 everyone has gone, except Mr. Pallacino, who is doing an inventory of the supplies. Joan Rosenbaum, a mother, is writing the next PTA newsletter. Perhaps he notes to the visitor that parents, a few of whom had been vociferously objecting to "open education" at a recent Board Meeting, seem on balance to be fairly well satisfied with the school's program and what their children are learning. By 4:00 even he is gone, and the custodian is cleaning for tomorrow.

In short: in School No. 2, many teachers who had never before taught with other teachers are now doing so to some - or in a few cases a great - extent. The range of activities offered to children is fairly wide, and the individual needs of children seem to be respected and responded to. The sense one gets is that many teachers have a history of working in an "open" way with children. The predominant teaching

style is benevolent; though children do not exercise much influence over what they are to learn, or how they are to learn it, their teachers seem to care about them. The school seems to be fairly stable, operating smoothly.

A good deal of what a visitor might note in School No. 2 - especially the team planning - was new to the teachers involved. In the remainder of this case study we will examine how that newness came to be - just how and why the hoped-for educational program of the school was implemented - or in some respects failed to materialize.

School No. 3. School No. 3 is set among the narrow streets of a residential neighborhood. The L-shaped part of the building is a 1960's addition which masks the existence of a venerable turn-of-the-century structure. In the bend of the L are set two stories of octagonal pods, like those in School No. 2. Space is more at a premium here, and the playing area is blacktopped and much smaller than at School No. 2.

Perhaps it is near lunchtime on a typical day as a visitor walks through the patio and enters the glass doors to hear the echoing sounds of children in a P.E. class in the all-purpose room of the old part of the building. Barbara Meadows, the secretary, might look up from her work and explain that George Rieger, the principal, is somewhere out in the building. Several teachers and a parent might be lounging in the outer office, and four teachers just be walking out for their usual lunch at a nearby diner. In George's large office, a group of male teachers would be launching their usual lunchtime game of pinochle around the table covered with papers that serves as the principal's desk; a couple of women teachers are kibitzing, and the air is full of banter.

Shortly George Rieger walks in, talking on the way to Bette Hunter, the guidance counselor, about a problem she has been having with an unsympathetic parent. He is mid-thirties, broad-shouldered, wearing a leisure suit. He joins the game, picks up easily on the men's banter, and mock-threatens to observe Mike Goldstone's work with his special education class this afternoon as a punishment for a good play Mike has just made. He jokes with the visitor, too, but a visitor can't help noticing the firmness with which he reminds a questioning teacher that the faculty meeting this afternoon is indeed to occur.

After lunch in over and the teachers begin to return to work, two small frightened boys are ushered in by Mrs. Meadows, who explains that they were sword-fighting with sticks on the playground. George fixes them with a serious gaze and asks if they know that playing with sticks is dangerous ("Yes", they chorus.). He says that if it happens again he will "start playing with sticks", and asks if they would like that. ("No", they chorus, and leave, relieved, with his permission.) A departing teacher jokes, "Riegerism in action!" and George acknowledges this with an amused shrug.

In the mini-theater near the office, the children from the sixth grade have staged a Greek festival, including demonstration dances, food, and pictures of the Acropolis. George praises the teachers involved, munching on some baklava.

With George's encouragement (he has started a brisk conversation with a parent who is working on the next issue of the school newsletter), a visitor might wander around the pods of the new addition, and the classrooms in the older part. The visitor would note a good deal of diversity. For example, in the second grade pod taught by Mrs. Stazzone, Mrs. Duberman and Mrs. O'Neill, there might be many different activities going on at once. Carole Duberman might explain that they had tested the children's reading at the start of the year, and had them working at nine different reading levels in small groups. The three teachers may each teach a parallel lesson; quite often, they say, they plan together closely and switch children from class to class as needs arise. They seem pleased to tell a visitor that they will be teaching together again next year.

Across in the neighboring pod in the first grade, however, a visitor might notice a somewhat different pattern. Though Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Calisi and their student teacher divide groups of children among themselves for different lessons, the section of the pod where Ruth Sefero, the other first grade teacher, works is walled off with bookcases; she seems to be working by herself, in a more traditional style. For example, the entire class will copy a "story of the day" (a narrative of the day's events) and then read it aloud in unison. Alice Scott might explain that though she and Marie Calisi had wanted the three of them to plan and work together, Ruth did not feel comfortable with doing so. Next year she will take over one of the first grades in the old part of the building, and Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Calisi will split up.

In the third and fourth grade pods on the next floor, the visitor might again notice some diversity within teaching teams. Helene Pribylski's third grade children seem to be spending time in small groups and on independent projects, while Mrs. Giotto's might be in a large group. They do not seem to exchange students. The fourth grade seems similar, though the classroom spaces taught by Mrs. Matlow, an older teacher, do not differ very much from Mrs. Fabrizi's. Both these teams are breaking up for next year; between the lines, one gets a feeling that the collaboration between teachers somehow didn't develop.

Moving over to the older part of the building, a visitor would note that the two fifth-grade classrooms, though they are side by side and the sliding partition between them is kept open, seem to be operating quite separately. Mr. Augusto might explain that they have agreed that he will do the math for all children, and Mrs. Ross the English, but that they tend to go their separate ways. They will be moving together to the 5th-grade pod next year.

In the two adjoining sixth-grade classrooms across the hall, Mrs. Starr and Mrs. Jacobucci also keep the divider open. The rooms are somewhat crowded, and have traditional seating. Mrs. Jacobucci's style tends to evoke initiative from children: for example, a child might have brought in an antique map poster, and the class discusses how the world was then. Mrs. Starr's approach is somewhat more traditional: she follows a more pre-defined program, and usually the children will be working as a group on the same lesson. Next year they will stay together in the same rooms.

Moving back down to the first floor of the old building, a visitor would note that the two kindergarten rooms are separated by a narrow hallway. Kathy Keaton and Astrid Teno might explain that they plan their activities together, but carry them out fairly independently. The kindergarten rooms are busy, lively places; less "discipline" seems in force than for older children. A reading period may be followed by art or craft work, or story-telling.

This floor also includes three special education classrooms, taught separately by Alan Kraus, Mike Goldstone, and Diana Econopoulos, along with a library.

As the end of the teaching day approaches, there is the familiar restless bustle as children prepare to leave. Once their voices have died away, the teachers might begin to assemble in the music room for a faculty meeting. George is firmly and jovially in control: he moves briskly through a series of items ranging from the allotment of parking spaces to a tightening of time for picking up children to asking for participation in an in-service reading program.

As the last teachers are leaving, a Board of Education member might be wandering through the hall. George engages him in joking conversation about the budget cuts which may be voted on soon, and talks about the problems in the newly-installed fire alarm system. Then both men leave for their cars in the parking lot, and the day is over. A couple of teachers might be talking briefly about their plans for tomorrow's classes.

School No. 3, like School No. 2, began with similar hopes: to use the open space of the new construction to enable team planning, better individual attention to children's needs, and a more relaxed and open style of teaching. But it seems that these objectives have been less fully achieved here than at School No. 2.

In fact, though the new pods in School No. 3 were designed to support team teaching and collaboration across teachers, and the old adjoining classrooms permitted it, there seems to have been only one grade-level group where sustained team planning and teaching occurred. Three of the teams are being split up and reassigned for next year. And it seems clear that, in comparison to School No. 2, more teachers are teaching in a traditional, less "open" fashion; in several grades

one teacher does so while his or her partner is more experimental. The transfers and shifts are perhaps one symptom of a flavor a visitor catches: life does not seem wholly stable here; small signs of dissatisfaction pop out when one is talking to a teacher, and one has the sense that people sometimes guard their feelings.

How can we account for the way open-space education was implemented in these two schools, and the differences between them? We address these questions in the remainder of the study.

CAST OF MAIN CHARACTERS[1)]

School No. 2		School No. 3
Edward Pallacino	Principal	George Rieger
Gerry Parsons Josephine Hartz	Kindergarten	Kathy Keaton Astrid Teno
Sandy Mikva Adrienne Moravia Joan Ratner Janet Schwaber	First Grade	Ruth Sefero Marie Calisi Alice Scott
Helen Kazantzakis Maria Hohning Sally Soames	Second Grade	Carole Duberman May O'Neill Maria Stazzone
Marian Richman Janne Schweiz Rita Bonomi	Third Grade	Helen Pribylski Sharon Giotto
Nadine Mann Jeanne Viaggio	Fourth Grade	Bonnie Fabrizi Florence Matlow
Mary Hahn Ken Mottola Adele Hoffster Barbara Canetto	Fifth Grade	Marjorie Ross Joseph Augusto
Angela Fiori	Sixth Grade	Sara Jacobucci Jan Starr
Joseph Krupcik	Media Center	

1) Altogether 47 people worked at School No. 3 and 42 at School No. 2; we list here only those people who appear in the case study.

CAST OF MAIN CHARACTERS (continued)

School No. 2		School No. 3
Michael Storton	Special Education	Mike Goldstone Alan Kraus Diana Econopoulos
Jane Costanza	Nurse	
Sandra Hartmann	Guidance	Bette Hunter
Jan Artay	School Psychologist	Jan Artay
Helen Gallo	Secretary	Barbara Meadows
	Special Teachers	
	Student Teachers	
Joan Rosenbaum	Parents	

Central Office		Other Principals
Walter Bond	Superintendent	James Sylvester, School No. 4
John Manganaro	Assistant Superintendent for Instruction	Charlie Waterman, School No. 1
Ken Braun	Director of Elementary Instruction	

Consultants

Michael Angelino
Donald Martin
Joseph Tausky
Jane Orenstein
Brenda Steiner

The Context

Westgate was incorporated in 1904 and stayed small for some time. In the 20's a number of film people working in the nearby city's studios bought houses on its bucolic streets. But the town did not begin to grow rapidly until after World War II. The confluence of highways feeding into the city made it an attractive place for development. The population in 1950 was 12,600; by 1970 it had risen to over 30,000. The building boom of the 60's went almost wholly into apartments; by 1973 there were dozens of apartment complexes in town. Much money changed hands during this period. The opportunities for municipal corruption were plentiful, and a few scandals surfaced, then subsided.

Although the Westgate school system doubled its student population between 1953 and 1973, its basic character did not shift very much. Walter Bond, who grew up in Westgate, became superintendent in 1954. He managed the system carefully and conservatively, putting his primary energies into work with the Board. As late as the time we began our study, in 1975, his typical style, an informant remarked, was to take even small administrative items to the Board: "If a teacher wants to take her class on a field trip, that goes to the Board. We have agendas that weigh 6 pounds". Nor surprisingly, Board meetings often ran until early hours. Westgate was, and is, a "parochial" system; not a few teachers come from town; some have relatives on the Board. One administrator pointed out:

> Two of our elementary principals, the middle school principal, and many of our high school people had hardly worked outside the district. Virtually no attendance at conventions for the past 15-20 years. Even the superintendent and assistant superindendent have not done much traveling.

In this context, life in the Westgate system has a "political" flavor; news travels fast. Informal gatherings often have much speculation about the next move of the Board, the administration, or the teachers' coalition, or gossip about particular key actors in the school-community system. Not surprisingly, the home-owners -- the old Westgate settlers -- are the most closely knitted to each other and to the system. Citizens from the high-rise apartments are less connected, and vote less in school board elections.

During the late 50's and early 60's, the school system coped with its burgeoning population largely by temporizing: additions were made to all four elementary schools and the high school, and a new intermediate school was built and added to. But by the early 70's it was clear that something more substantial would have to be done. Based on preliminary demographic studies, the administration proposed a much enlarged ("palatial", said one administrator) School No. 2, which was soundly defeated in a bond issue. An expanded four-year intermediate school was proposed twice and rejected.

The recession and building slowdown of the 1970's had begun to cast some doubt on Westgate's continued growth, but it was still apparent that more forthright action on new facilities was needed.

The Early Planning Period

In June of 1973, the Board hired Dr. Michael Angelino, a professor of educational administration at a city university who would shortly become a Westgate resident, to study their facilities situation and make recommendations. The Board had had poor experiences with some previous consultants, including one university professor who struck out with Mr. Bond because he used "profane language". But Angelino came warmly recommended by a Board member who was studying under him; John Manganaro, the assistant superintendent, had also been a student of his 15 years ago. Angelino, an active, loquacious, likeable man with long experience in facilities consulting, made a strong presentation to the Board, and as soon as he was hired proceeded to collect all the demographic, financial and facilities data he could. He was impressed by the thoroughness of the data kept by the superintendent, told him so, and developed a mutually supportive and respectful relationship with him: Mr. Bond reminisced about the old days in Westgate when movie starlets rode by in red convertibles, and shyly accepted technical advice from Angelino on his hobby of photographing flowers. Angelino for his part came to characterize Mr. Bond as a "prince of a fellow", "not an iron-tailed old fogey ..... a rock of Gibraltar" for the district. Most important, the superintendent did something that was for him radical: he acceded to Angelino's suggestion that the Administrative Council[2] meet repeatedly with the consultant to discuss the educational ideas that might underly the plans for the new buildings.

He relinquished his role, and at the first meeting said, "Dr. Angelino is in charge of the agenda..... Please sit here [at the head]". The fact that Angelino had already talked individually with all the principals and walked through their schools undoubtedly helped. But he also seemed to have a knack for generating good dialogue. Ken Braun, the active, pragmatic director of elementary education, commented later:

> This was the first time in all the years that people came on time. It meant they thought it was worthwhile making the effort. Mike didn't

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2) The Council included all four elementary principals, the middle school and high school principals, the supervisor of buildings and grounds, John Manganaro and Ken Braun, the director of elementary education.

dominate and didn't allow anyone else to dominate. When the Superintendent conducted meetings on his own, he handled 95% of the conversation. But here everybody had a chance, and felt free to say what he wanted to.

As it turned out, a great deal of the preliminary planning for the new Schools No. 2 and 3 was done by Angelino with the Council as a forum. For practical purposes, he and they were the early planning/implementation group. The basic substance of Angelino's report, released in January of 1974, had in fact been OK'd by the Westgate administrators well before it was sent to the Board for action.

The P/I Group and Its Meta-Plan

The mutually-working planning/implementation group thus included an external consultant, and all the line managers of the Westgate school system. Angelino chaired the meetings, and did the interim staff work. The group clearly had no problems of legitimacy or right to proceed.

Their rough timetable involved engaging in weekly discussions, in parallel with Angelino's data collection and report-writing activities. The report would appear in early 1974; it was proposed that if it were approved by the Board an architect would be hired and a "basic" Board-approved program (developed by the P/I group) would be handed over. While the plans were being developed, the P/I group would continue with a more detailed emphasis on the educational program, involving staff in refining the proposed design. This would in turn go to the Board and architect for final detailing, and the development of a bond issue, to go to the voters in the late spring. The P/I group also expected to organize an in-service program for teachers who would be working in the new schools.

All this was by no means clear when the P/I group began work in the fall of 1973 (the rough meta-plan above was not in fact put on paper until the time of Angelino's report)[3]. And needless to say, not all of it was carried out as contemplated.

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3) In fact, the meta-plan was considerably more disorderly than this. In the fall of 1973, another planning group including the supervisor of buildings and grounds, Manganaro and two Board members developed a proposal for renovations at No. 3 school, with an estimated cost of $750,000. The proposal got Board approval, and citizen endorsement in a February, 1974 referendum. However, a specially-hired architectural firm concluded from a feasibility study that the building was not worth renovating. Angelino's report concurred with this, in effect suggesting repairs to the old part of the building, plus additions of new classroom pods, along with a completely new school No. 2. What seems like duplicated effort and planning overkill was probably needed to gain Board and community support and resource acquisition.

The fact that no teachers or citizens (let alone students) were involved at this part was congruent with the general style of operation of the Westgate Schools: administrators ran them (and still do, by and large).

The P/I group's approach to the future was essentially extrapolative; they relied on Angelino's very thorough trend projections. The data used tended to be official, and documentary. The basic working assumption about linkage of plans to implementation was that it would be carried out through line management, aided by the proposed staff influence on the final design and whatever in-service training was mounted as the reality of the new schools approached. That reality was still far enough away that the P/I group did little detailed planning. Consequently, the question of how much flexibility and possibility of adaptation existed in the plans was not particularly salient.

Brief Chronology

As we have noted, Angelino began his work with intensive data collection, both through documents and visits to all the principals. He rapidly became aware of some important history.

First, the two principals most directly involved in the proposed new schools were working from quite different contexts. In 1956, then with four years' experience in the district, at School No. 4, Ed Pallacino had been transferred without explanation to School No. 2, a tiny, old school with eight teachers. He felt it as a step down to less responsibility; others in the district sometimes referred to his school as "Siberia". George Rieger, on the other hand, had run a fairly innovative school in the nearby suburb of Hillview, ("enough so the parents complained about the noise") and had been in the district only six years.

The two men's styles and philosophies also differed a good deal: Angelino said later, "it's the shirt and tie vs. the turtleneck". Ed, he said, had "heard and read about these things (less-traditional approaches to education) and never thought it would come off"; he was usually quiet in the meetings. George, as Angelino saw him, was "more voluble, he looms larger, he comes through as the angry young principal or the guy who is impatient with the time frame".

Angelino saw his job as, in effect, helping the Administrative Council learn how to plan, though he never said this to them directly. He described his role to a researcher as that of "surfacing options, getting them to think through the alternatives", and as running a "structured agenda without a hierarchical relationship". During the 5 or 6 meetings held with the Council during the fall, they touched on a range of issues from school size and projected enrollment to the organizational structure of the district, the existing sites, and options for teacher and student groupings.

Angelino was seen as "a bona fide member of the team", according to Ken Braun:

> He didn't give you the feeling that he was the outside expert. You appreciated his expertise but you had that comfortable feeling that he had been with us for a long long time and fully understood us and what we were doing.

Still, he did manage the work: "he led us through an orderly series of decisions", said John Manganaro later, referring to such topics as school size and educational specifications. The size question is of some interest: the schools then ranged from the 180 students in School No. 2 to nearly 700 in School No. 1. Though Angelino never seems to have advocated size uniformity, he did point out the discrepancies, and the administrators committed themselves relatively early on to keeping the size of all four schools under 500 students. As we shall see, this decision was perhaps politically wise, and congruent with a general Westgate tendency to make things uniform, standard. It did not make strong sense otherwise -- for example, 500 students would leave many rooms in School No. 1 under-utilized.

Angelino also felt keenly that "I wanted these people to be the spokesmen..when the bond issue and the referendum came up they had to talk with the town council, with the voters: I didn't go out there selling it". Thus his proposal to work with the Council came not only from his beliefs that (a) they had good ideas to contribute, and (b) they would have to live with the results; but (c) they would need to be advocates for whatever design began emerging if it was to receive Board and community support.

In parallel with these meetings, Angelino worked on his report. It was released to the Board in January of 1974, along with the proposed meta-plan developed by John Manganaro. A brief summary of its recommendations will be useful here. Essentially, noting the probability of continued population growth, and the fact of current facilities overloading, Angelino said that updating elementary facilities was the key issue, and advised that a completely new School No. 2 should be built, and that an addition be made to School No. 3. He encouraged a shift to full-time kindergartens, and underlined the need for all elementary schools to be of a similar, optimal size (about 450-500 children). He also urged movement to a K-5 organization and expanding the middle school to grades 6-8, and advised active initiation of planning for a new middle school facility (and by 1980, a new high school).

Though Angelino used the phrase "multi-classroom pods" and mentioned a "compact-type plant", the explicit notion of open-space schools appears nowhere in the report, an interesting elision in view of the fact that the concept had already been discussed in the P/1 group. In fact, too, Ken Braun pointed out later:

> We sold the open space to the Board on a couple of factors. First, the cost. They were very impressed with the amount of building they were going to get for the dollars involved. And we sold them that we could have what we currently have in those spaces. To satisfy the most conservative, and they are mostly a fairly conservative group, up underneath those dropped ceilings were to be tracks to put walls in. Those pods were designed to be divided into three sections if need be.

Angelino's report also stressed the need for active, continuous, adaptive planning, gave cost estimates ($2.7 to $2.9 million for Schools No. 2 and No. 3), and pointed out the interesting fact that Westgate's assessed valuation was the highest in the state for its category, twice the median value in the county (itself the wealthiest in the state). And even with a very low (20th percentile) tax rate, he pointed out, Westgate was spending $1,410 per pupil, then at the 80th percentile in the state. He concluded, then, that financing the new schools should not present problems.

As it turned out, he was right. But as an administrator pointed out later, "the Board never got to the back half of the report". They accepted the recommendation on Schools No. 2 and No. 3, but did not act on the middle school recommendation, or the need to plan for high school expansion.

The Board, with initiative from Mr. Bond, asked Angelino to stay on to aid with the next steps in implementation of his report. They also moved rapidly to hire an architect -- one Angelino had worked with before -- who with Angelino and the group worked to clarify the sort of building (and, implicitly, school program) that might be involved.

Later, Angelino recalled:

> I said, OK, guys, somebody pushed the go button, right? They, [the Board] are still the decision-makers, but now we are the designers. Our role now goes from planners to conceptual designers.

During the late winter and early spring, Angelino met three or four times with the Council, with the architect joining them from time to time. "We'd come to some conclusions with Mike and then we'd call the architect in", remembered Ken Braun.

The meetings were usually built around specific areas such as classroom space, art facilities, libraries, theatre arts, food service. According to Angelino, assistant superintendent John Manganaro was very central in the process: skilled as a communications and values clarification consultant to other districts, articulate and persuasive, he was "very good at interaction efforts..has gutsy honesty, a humanist". And he had good local contact ("a product of Westgate.....a good barometer..

he can restate agenda items, translate them for the local context in a meaningful way").

As we shall see, Manganaro was probably more committed than anyone else except Ken Braun to an "open education" concept. Manganaro commented later that Angelino "led us" toward the open space concept; the planners were careful to make the distinction, however, between "open space" and "open education" (a presumably more-experimental approach that might find resistance in Westgate). Angelino also suggested visiting an open-space school in a neighboring district. Some Board members, Mr. Bond, and PTA people came along too. John Manganaro recalled:

> We actually saw three classes in what had been an auditorium; it was a huge open space. The guys [principals] were absolutely stunned by the fact that there were no walls, but it was quiet, the kids were working away. They came back convinced as could be.

The Board members were also impressed, Angelino recalled:

> They said when they came back, "Now we know what you are talking about". It was manageable, the scale was not frightening. They talked to the teachers who weren't at odds with it, they talked to the local Board members whose constituency hadn't killed them about it, they talked to the educators, who were proud of it. Kids liked going to school more, and teachers liked teaching that way better, etc..

By late March, the P/I group, which had for practical purposes settled down to the four principals, Manganaro, Braun, Angelino, the supervisor of buildings and grounds, and the architect, had settled on a "limited open space" concept, which would involve "pods" of 75 children, the equivalent of two or three classes; each two pods formed a "neighborhood".

The architect came back with preliminary schematic drawings for both schools in early April. Angelino recalled:

> We met at my place before a Board meeting, and John and a couple of the other guys said, gee, for School No. 2 he captured the intent dramatically and nicely. But he went off on a departure with School No. 3. The town likes the idea of equality and similarity. If you're going to build pentagons [the pods] in School No. 2, what denies you the pentagons in No. 3? And he said to me, "I thought I had to be different". I said, "If they're similar, I think we'll fly better". He worked through supper and said, "I think I've got it". We looked at it, it was great.

Angelino's intuitive feeling about the importance of uniformity in Westgate was well founded. The schematics for No. 2 were reviewed by the Board that evening, and those for the "similar" No. 3 the following week. "Before we knew it", Angelino said, the Board was "strategizing over a referendum". Manganaro recalled later:

> There was no single person on the Board who voiced opposition. They never read the rationale behind Mike's conclusions. What they're saying is if there's no political opposition out there, it's OK with us. Some of them go along with it because they figure if John says it's good it's OK; they call me a "local". And there are one or two of them who have real intellectual curicsity about it.

Apparently the label "open education" was not mentioned to the Board being potentially controversial. Later Braun said:

> We had the conviction that we were dealing with a very conservative community and a conservative Board of Education, and that new ideas had been shot down before. We had kind of given up. But now here is a Board building an open space school that has not been unreceptive to what Mike Angelino said. They never really stamped approval, yes, but they never said no, and by God we better take advantage of it while we can. That enthusiasm carried us through without Mike.

The referendum for the bond issue was approved with little difficulty by the Westgate voters on May 14, 1974. The new schools were expected to open for students in the fall of 1976.[4)]

A rough organizational sketch. By the time the Angelino report went to the Board, certain features of the proposed new schools were already reasonably clear to the P/I group. It was accepted that a complete new School No. 2 would be needed, and that an addition would be made to School No. 3. Both schools - and the other two existing schools - would have something under 500 students.

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4) The 3½ year period from Angelino's entry to the opening of the new schools, like most new-school planning timetables, seems stately. But the actual amounts of work time were less extensive than might be expected; Manganaro estimated 50 or 60 hours in 1973-1974, and 60 hours in 1974-1975, for each member of the P/I group. Of these, about 30 hours each year were in normal administrative meetings, without consultant presence. Similar times seem likely for 1975-1976. The Board spent about 15 hours a year. So two substantial new schools were brought into being through a total of perhaps six weeks' actual work time by the members of the P/I group.

The idea of moving toward an open-space concept had been more or less agreed on, and the idea that team teaching would take place in these spaces, with greater attention to individual needs of children, was similarly in place. Angelino's report, after assembling several lists of educational goals from various reports and texts, emphasizes that "the educational program must be flexible enough to allow for the selection of learning experiences appropriate for each learner", and also stresses that the one-teacher, self-contained classroom "does, however limit the educational program to the vision of one person and subjects pupils to a single set of values and competencies". [Italics in original]

The report goes on to discuss cooperative teaching arrangements, use of aides, flexible grouping, variation in pacing for individual needs, and materials centers, and calls "the typical egg-crate schoolhouse" of the past "woefully inadequate". Though the Board doubtless skipped over this section in favor of the enrollment and cost figures, the presumption is that the members of the P/I group were thinking in terms roughly congruent with the report excerpts above. Whether or not there was actually ownership of these ideas (as contrasted with the "simple" idea of educating children in an open-space setting) is, as we shall see, somewhat dubious, especially from the principals' point of view. For Manganaro and Braun, the general hope seemed to be one of "modernizing" the Westgate elementary program, moving it toward a more "open" form of education. Manganaro spoke to a researcher about his commitment to individualization of instruction and independence on the part of pupils, "but with a conservative time-table". He commented that existing forms of group instruction "built failure into the system", so that "kids were turning off". He acknowledged that the principals were more "management-oriented", were "survival experts...involved in the nitty gritty", and saw himself and Ken as more theoretical, scholarly. "When you talk about goals, you're talking about theory".

The organizational form of the proposed schools does not appear to have been discussed much by this point; the presumption was simply that a principal, teachers organized by pods, and assorted specialist teachers and support personnel would be involved. Thus the organizational set-up did not seem to depart from conventional ideas. (For example, team leaders or aides did not seem to have been contemplated: it can be argued that productivity in a pod-form of organization needs such differentiated roles.)

Analysis and Commentary

What can we say about the primary impetus for moving toward open-space schools in Westgate? Actually many different forces came together in support of this particular approach: the philosophical, professionalized commitment to "open education" held by John Manganaro and to a considerable extent Ken Braun; the cost-effectiveness of the plan as seen by the Board, along with the soft-pedaling of the "open education" aspects (which Ken and John were nevertheless hoping to

introduce gradually); and the over-all support and protection provided by the superintendent (which in turn would never have materialized without the assertive facilitation and knowledge-brokering provided by the consultant Angelino). Not least, the self-interests of the principals may have supplied energy for the move: Ed Pallacino was getting a brand new building, including new facilities for art, music, science, and theatre and more teachers: his "Siberia" would be torn down. George Rieger would also have new facilities -- a little more comparable to the more modern school he had headed in his previous district. Charlie Waterman would have fewer teachers and students to worry about. And Jim Sylvester's well-worked out traditional program would continue undisturbed, enjoying parental support.

The barriers were weak. Community conservatism was buffered by the "open space" label and the assurance of cost minimization. And even though most teachers were oriented toward more-traditional school spaces and teaching styles, they were unlikely to protest new facilities -- or indeed, press for a role very different from their usual subordinate one in the district. Besides, it was not at all clear exactly who would be teaching in the new buildings, and who would have to be transferred.

One of the most salient features of the P/I work so far was the shift in administrative initiative and collaboration. Ken Braun remarked:

> He [Angelino] did get everyone involved, talking of our program, where we wanted to go [instead of] a million other things that had to be done like brush fires. There was carryover, guys went away from the meeting, thought about it, and were prepared at the next meeting with thoughts and suggestions the likes of which we had never seen before. Independent thinking had not been encouraged [before this].
>
> Many of the guys looked forward to these meetings, which was amazing. Everyone felt involved that wanted to be. And I think I learned a lot more about my colleagues...I found some of my guys had more on the ball than I thought they had. I'm sure they had some of the same feelings about the rest of us.

There was another consequence, which Angelino noted: "Mr. Bond stopped sniping at Ed Pallacino", changing a behavior which had recurred ever since the "Siberia" decision.

As we shall see, this success experience led to continuing joint planning among Braun, Manganaro, and the four elementary principals -- not only for the continuing P/I work but for operations in general. Angelino believed that the group's "planning posture was established",

and said "That table can produce any kind of interchanges....staffing, curriculum, materials selection, summer programs."

It should be noted, of course, that this team-building did very little to alter -- indeed it probably strengthened -- the typical Westgate tendency to do things from the top down.

Political stabilization. The early planning, primarily because of the central involvement of line managers by Angelino, and his unwillingness to take a report to the Board which they did not own, did definitely succeed in the important primary task of political stabilization: the Board supported the administrators' initiative, if only in terms of the money and the new buildings.

Knowledge utilization. This task too was carried out well with the aid of an external expert. During this phase, Angelino served as a knowledge-broker for the P/I group; for example, he brought in information about schools that were too large for effectiveness, occasionally interpreted ideas from journals and research reports, and gave examples of curricular design for an expanded middle school. He also suggested, as noted above, open-space schools in neighboring districts which P/I group members could visit. And the report itself marshalled a good deal of expert knowledge about school objectives, school organization and program, property valuation, enrollment projections and tax rates.

The vision at this point. The plan for the schools was at this stage unformed enough that it is not easy to make an analysis of its coherence. Essentially, as John Manganaro said later, "Ken and I led the way to an open educational style": with Angelino's guidance, the group moved toward a borrowing of current practice in open-space education, with emphasis on teaming and individualization. There does not seem to have been much stress on "humanizing" the school or making the learner more responsible for his/her own task choice and evaluation of work, though Angelino had commented on the importance of student "independence". Perhaps the simplest statement is that the physical set-up proposed was not incongruent with the fuzzily-seen goals at this point. (Angelino said flatly later to a researcher, "There was no collective set of goals. Ken and John would have been able to put together a goal statement, but that never happened, to my knowledge.")

Key Decisions

To review: the P/I group had by the end of this period decided to go generally for an open-space concept, to be fully in place in a brand new School No. 2, and used in the new addition to School No. 3. The firm decision was also to equalize the student populations in the four elementary schools (and tacitly, not to go outside the present group of four principals for leading them). These decisions also had the tacit associated decision that few or no additional teachers would be hired (with the consequence, as with the student equalization decision, that problems of transfers would become crucial).

The movement toward the K-5 organization, and the press for a new middle school, were reasonably owned by the P/I group, but did not get endorsement by the Board. Finally, the Board's decision to proceed for Schools No. 2 and No. 3 along the lines of the report -- and to retain Angelino as a consultant during the further course of planning and implementation -- laid the groundwork for a reasonable degree of planning/implementation linkage.

Probably the tacit decision to underplay the "open education" theme at this point had several important consequences. It buffered the P/I operation from a Board (and community) seen as conservative by the administrators, and made the bond issue approval more likely. But it also permitted the principals themselves to be less than explicit with each other and with Manganaro and Braun about how committed they really were to "open education". Thus the ownership of the "open education" concept was in doubt. This blurring of the concept behind the schools also made for another potential difficulty: at this point the principals did not really understand what teachers would be up against in the open space, and what the problems of implementation would actually be.

P/I group capabilities. It seems that the group functioned relatively well in terms of meta-planning, particularly time-tabling, and was relatively strong in the area of developing and using their own legitimacy, as well as in their political strategizing. In spite of Angelino's remarkable success in building the P/I group as a working team from a history of passivity and domination by the Superintendent, there still seemed to be some weaknesses at this point -- partly encouraged by tactical responses to political problems with the Board -- in the area of investment development: it was not clear how much the "vision" was really owned. On balance, decision-making skills -- perhaps facilitated by Angelino -- seem adequate.

Intermediate Outcomes

In brief: the P/I group was well on the way to obtaining the financial resources needed for the schools, and it seemed moderately likely that the Board (and eventually the community) would continue to support the effort, if it were not presented as being an educationally radical one. The quality of P/I decisions would have to be judged, generally, as technically good, with some softness in ownership of the basic rationale behind what was being contemplated.

Social-Architectural Design

The P/I Group and the Meta-Plan

During the spring and early fall of 1974, the P/I group included Angelino, the four elementary principals, John, and Ken, sometimes with the addition of Mr. Bond, the supervisor of buildings and grounds, the

Board Secretary (financial officer), and on occasion the president of the Board (himself a former supervisor of buildings and grounds). Their mission was to generate further program specifications for the architect, who attended early meetings frequently, and would prepare final working drawings so that bids could be invited for construction. John's original meta-plan also called for staff involvement in detailed (architectural) program development and for the Administrative Council, with Angelino, to organize an in-service program for teachers "relating to any instructional changes implicit in building design". The working assumption was that the buildings would open for students in the fall of 1976, so there was little sense of urgency about the training at this point.

More and more, once the architect had enough information to develop drawings, the de facto P/I group became what was labelled "the administrative rap session" (the four principals, John and Ken); Angelino attended in the first stages from time to time. Thus the P/I group contracted; there seems never to have been any serious consideration of expanding it to include teachers, let alone parents (or students). Ken Braun recalled:

> As Mike's role phased out more or less, I picked up with the elementary guys. We met regularly for a year and a half. After the building was built, we [would] have to learn to live with it. We had to start talking about how we were going to live in that space and how we were going from open space to open concept education. Do we want to and how far?

At the time of the Board's original approval of Angelino's report, it had also supported the notion of equalizing size across the four elementary schools (and implicitly, the rezoning that would be involved). This politically-sensitive issue was to occupy a good deal of P/I group energy, since not only teachers but children would end up moving to new schools; it, along with (increasingly) work on in-service efforts were the main P/I group concerns.

As before, the primary linkage between planning and implementation was tacitly seen to be the fact that line managers, including the two central office administrators, were doing the basic planning. The Board's retaining Angelino to aid with implementation was also intended as a P/I linkage. Eventually, as we shall see, the presence of a considerable amount of autonomy on the principals' part and what seemed like reluctance of Ken and John to supply close-up support for implementation, along with decreasing participation by Angelino, reduced planning/implementation congruence.

Chronology

Angelino recalled his first meeting with the P/I group after his retention by the Board to aid with implementation:

> OK, boys, this is where we got some options, but every option has consequences. This option [breaking the single-space, single teacher mold, as he put it] sets in motion some very dramatic procedural and personal things. The community is not going to stay detached from this.... And you've got to know that the larger ripples are in people, not in [the] place.

His view was that concern with staff assignment and in-service training began at this point, but that is far from clear. The primary energy of the P/I group during the early fall seems to have gone into detailing the specifications enough for the architect to proceed with drawings preparation. A few programmatic additions appeared during this process, notably a somewhat increased emphasis on esthetic performance, partly because Angelino pushed the group to consider theatre arts, and partly because Mr. Bond recalled with great relish (and to the P/I group's pleasure) his fifth-grade play production where he sang "Babes in Toyland".

A series of brief meetings was held at School No. 2 and School No. 3 to review the preliminary concept for the buildings and invite teacher (and some PTA) feedback with "regard to the ideals that they wanted to see in a new classroom", as John put it later.

By January of 1975, the architect's drawings were firm. Manganaro (who often served as a communications consultant to other school districts) and Braun began to realize how important the planning and decision-making of the principals would continue to be. That spring they held a couple of meetings with them to work directly on the process of communication: "we sat on the floor, people began to open up more".

A number of teachers also had the chance to visit open-space schools in nearby districts to get a flavor of what teaching in them would be like. These visits were partly reassuring, but not wholly so: the in-service issue was beginning to loom. John recalled later:

> Some teachers were saying, "It's like a zoo. We're not going to run that kind of a classroom. You'd better build in a lot of planning time. Our kids are up to national norms now. You'd better not upset the applecart".

The Westgate planners contracted with an open education center from a nearby town for a fifteen-session course on open education, to be attended on a voluntary basis; about twenty-five teachers signed up; none at all came from the most conservative school (No. 4) in the district. The approach was essentially on the process and philosophy of open education. John recalled:

> They started asking questions, like what are your goals, how do you see yourself behaving during the

> day? [But] the teachers were seething, they wanted a cookbook. They said, "What do we need this stuff for? We want to know how you build a learning center".

It is not wholly clear whether the teachers (who after all were those with most interest in learning about open education) were resisting a serious look at their own styles, or were justifiably critical of in-service assistance which gave little direct help on learning technology. In any event, their dissatisfaction did lead to more-focused training the following fall, and to John and Ken's placing the primary initiative for the in-service work on the principals.

By May of 1975, bids were received for construction. The Board awarded a contract almost immediately, and preliminary construction started in June.

In the fall of 1975, reality began coming closer: the footings were poured, and steel work began on the addition to School No. 3 John Manganaro said to a researcher:

> Our original talk about goals helped to shape the physical facility. Then we put all our juice into the physical side. Now we're back to goals. In the early planning, the principals didn't really believe the goals were real. Now a couple of the guys are beginning to hedge, go more conservative. Ken and I understand this, we are patient with this. [They] suspect my affective emphasis, think I'm against basics.

As he saw it, the principals were committed to "open space" education, and to the team teaching that would go on in the pods, but he and Ken Braun were also hoping for a more "open" educational approach generally: "teachers behaving in different ways, making kids more responsible for their own lives". He also articulated the idea that:

> We want to move all four schools to individualized instruction and open space eventually...it was a political decision. The public might say, 'if you don't have enough confidence in open education to really commit yourself, then we're not buying it either....' If we had two traditional schools and two open space schools we'd have a problem of busing if parents in an open-space district wanted to send their children to a traditional school. Also a problem of maintaining a balance of numbers in each school.

We see here again the Westgate penchant for uniformity, or at least its appearance. Given the traditional cast of the parents, teachers and

principal in School No. 4, the likelihood of any shift toward "open education" practice there seemed minimal. ("We'll have a hell of a time there", said Ken Braun.) But the myth that open education was a district-wide emphasis had, as noted, its uses.

It was in early September that our research project first made contact with the P/I effort. Mentioning that Angelino had suggested Westgate to us, we explored a working relationship in which field workers would be "flies on the wall", providing no advice or help (but occasional summary reports). As in our other projects, we also offered matching funds which would help the district buy up to 18 days of consulting time from mutually acceptable experts with competence in facilitating the development of "human systems", as we put it.[5)]

John Manganaro's initial reaction to our first phone contact was positive: "We can use all the help we can get..... the next year and a half will be devoted to training our people". When we reviewed the credentials and working style of several consultants in our pool at two subsequent exploratory meetings, he said, "I like them all...they sound like dynamite people". Ken Braun echoed this: "We can't afford to stumble at this point. It [Westgate matching funds] would be money well spent".

John felt that consulting help would be most needed with in-service work: his time perspective was a long one:

> Until six months ago I thought that in-service training would just stop when school opens, and I now realize that the first two years are when you work out the problems. Ken and I need help and expertise on changing attitudes.... something like Mike did with the physical architecture, but with the social architecture.

The two most-concerned principals, George Rieger and Ed Pallacino, were more cautious, but as George acknowledged, "we desperately need to work on open-space problems"; he said that he and Ed were already using 1½ hours a week with their existing faculty as in-service time, even though this covered fewer than half of the teachers that might eventually be involved. So with the concurrence of Mr. Bond and the Board's president, the P/I group agreed to the research-with-consulting-on-the-side relationship we had proposed.

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5) Our aims here, which we explained, were (a) to increase the likelihood of P/I success, from which we felt more could be learned; (b) to enable us to study the behavior of effective consultants for new schools. More latently, we also saw the consulting offer as an added incentive for Westgate to allow us entry, and as a way to maintain the detachment of the field worker's non-interventive role.

Approximately a year remained before Schools No. 2 and 3 would open their doors for students.[6] The P/I group found itself working recurrently on several major issues, including

1. Uncertainty about fiscal resources.

2. Rezoning of the sending areas for the 4 schools to equalize their size.

3. Preliminary in-service help on open-space education for interested teachers.

4. Re-allocating teachers to the schools.

5. Acquiring and using consultant help for building the social system of the new schools.

6. Firming up educational and organizational details for the new schools.

As they repeatedly dealt with these tasks, they naturally also had to make decisions about ongoing operations of the four elementary schools, with agenda items varying from achievement testing results to teacher evaluations, science textbook adoptions, and coverage of lunch periods. So it is not surprising that their decisions on major matters were sometimes hasty or superficial, and sometimes seemed to tail our for weeks and months.

For clarity of presentation, we now discuss the major topics above, pulling them out and away from a strictly chronological flow. The reader should remember that life was not this clear at the time.

Fiscal uncertainty. Much ambiguity about money surrounded the planning. Some of this was local. For example, by November the problem surfaced of locating sufficient funds to cover furniture and equipment

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6) The primary field workers during this year were Ellen Sullivan and Wamboi Kironde, occasionally supplemented by Miles. Field workers were present at most P/I group meetings, characteristically visiting Westgate every other week or so; telephone calls supplemented these contacts. Occasional community or PTA meetings were also attended. In addition, intensive retrospective interviews were held with John Manganaro, Ken Braun, Michael Angelino and Jane Orenstein about the planning/implementation work and their part in it. We also had many brief informal interviews with P/I group members, and collected documents ranging from newspaper articles to P/I group agendas, and enrollment projections. Questionnaire data on goals for the new schools were also collected in the spring of 1976 from the two administrators and four principals.

for the new buildings (not fully covered in the original bond issue, and estimated at from $125,000 (the minimum cut) to $450,000 (the ideal as proposed by Angelino). This issue was eventually solved without requesting additional funds from the voters. In early February, the Board told the administration to plan on the possibility that there would be no State funding at all, and that $260,000 should either be cut from the upcoming budget, or that amount added for the public referendum; administrators responded by proposing a cut of 10½ teaching positions, and spent much energy considering where these might come (in music, speech, etc.). Following a meeting in late February with over 600 people present, including many teachers and students, the Board voted to add $150,000 to the budget, and added back the 10½ jobs, by dint of cutting summer-school programs, and economizing in instructional supplies and non-instructional accounts. This budget was passed by the voters, but the recurring local uncertainty made it very difficult to plan for staffing of the new schools, to make equipment and "software" decisions, and to protect money for in-service training. Indeed, at the large meeting above, it was suggested by a parent that the new School No. 2 not be opened at all, to save $250,000.

Local uncertainty was multiplied when it appeared in June that state-level action might require schools (including administrative, planning and even custodial functions) to close. The threat was eventually lifted, but it did threaten to block the possibility of final planning for start-up of the two new schools.

The fiscal uncertainty naturally required much energy investment, especially from John and Ken, demanded a good deal of contingency planning and downright procrastination, and meant that a good deal of politicking and bargaining about staff positions and programs constantly went on among all the actors -- administrators, staff, Board, and citizens. Generally speaking, the P/I group coped reasonably well and succeeded in protecting resources for the new schools. But the uncertainty slowed their planning, and occasionally they allowed themselves to be pushed toward ideas for the new schools that were expedient rather than what they really thought was desirable. For example, in January they considered multi-age grouping in order to save teaching positions: "we may be pressed into it as a way to avoid uneven class sizes". However, they disliked the idea, and as Charlie Waterman put it:

> Teachers won't believe we didn't envision this.
> They'll think we just threw pods on them first,
> now in February we're sneaking multi-age grouping
> on them.

An in-service session on multi-age grouping was to be presented to the teachers "but more as a concept", and John said, "I don't think [multi-age] is a possibility at all, maybe not for 4 or 5 years". In any case, the possible actual merits of multi-age grouping did not seem to be considered. The question of multi-age grouping reappeared in May as

the P/I group was reviewing final enrollment projections and the way staffing would be set up: George suggested it for grades 2 and 3, with Charlie's support. But John said:

> We've done a good job of persuading the community that open education in Westgate isn't the British infant school or "California way out". We better not bring in multi-age right now. Let's wait until September.

Rezoning. Work on equalizing the student population in the four elementary schools occupied much P/I group energy (portions of eleven meetings) not only because it ramified out into the community -- children would have to leave schools they had walked to for years, and parents, especially those with a strong "neighborhood" sense, would be upset -- but because it dictated where teachers would be working, who would have to transfer, and how and where special and supplementary teachers (art, science, Title I, special education, etc.) would be spending their time. So the apparently innocuous decision to equalize numbers would have substantial consequences.

The work on rezoning began in October, when Ken Braun presented figures showing that School No. 1 (without changes) would have 625 students, while the present No. 2 only had 205, No. 3 333, and No. 4 534. He proposed reallocations grade by grade to even things out to about 425 students per school, and asked each principal to collect more precise data on anticipated enrollments. Ken said:

> You guys know as well as I do that with Mr. Bond and the Board, you've got to do your homework. We've got to have a good package on this because of public relations.

The researcher present noted, "They know each other well -- a lot of joking and laughing. A pretty clear way of getting things done". The principals understood perfectly well that teacher transfers were needed, and kidded about it:

> Ed: (smiling) George held a faculty meeting and told them there might be shifts made. They all volunteered.
>
> Ken: You vill go!
>
> Ed: Yeah, and most of mine did too, though I didn't use those words.

At the next meeting, the new projections and a proposed rezoning map were discussed, and the specific numbers of teachers, both regular and supplementary, were reviewed. At this point an interesting concept developed: each grade-level pod or group in the two new schools should

have a mixture of traditional and "open"-oriented teachers. This idea was proposed as a buffer against potential parent protest; the P/I group members seem not to have considered that such a mixture of teachers would undoubtedly make a thoroughgoing implementation of open-space teaming more difficult. Or perhaps they did, at some level.

The rezoning plan was presented to the Board with the principals present. The Board did not make a decision, and opposition from potentially affected parents, most of them at School No. 1, where about 200 students would be moved, began to develop. But after a December 16 open Board meeting, Ken pointed out:

> If you read the newspapers you'd have gotten the impression there were hundreds of people there. But there were only 28... Most of the people who were against the zoning changes have pretty much resigned themselves.... In essence, the Board has already made its decision.

The P/I group occupied itself with space use in each new school, and the teacher transfer implications: it seemed likely that two teachers would have to transfer out of School No. 4, and nine out of No. 1. Budget cuts also meant juggling of special education and Title I teachers. They agreed that teachers should be given the "option" to transfer. John said:

> We have to watch the way we phrase this, because we don't want to give the impression of Schools 2 and 3 being the best place to work and everyone else is left out.

As it turned out, the reality was far from this fantasy; when teachers were polled asking for their written preferences (which were carefully explained as being non-determinative), only seven out of 64 regular classroom teachers indicated willingness to transfer.

By late January, after a more tumultuous Board meeting at which a "hard core" of School No. 1 parents announced their intention to defy the proposed rezoning, Mr. Bond asked the P/I group to develop alternatives and consider polling parents. They groaned at his "over-responsiveness", but over the next month worked hard, considering contingencies ranging from "suppose we polled them and only 10% want rezoning?", or "What if this gets delayed and made into a campaign issue at the upcoming Board elections?" They were also mindful of the budget vote coming on February 24. They rejected the idea of polling (and equally rejected the idea of explaining more about open education through a newspaper story ("It's not time yet."). They generated 16 rezoning options; the preferred one ("Plan B") seems to have been stimulated by a proposal from the School No. 1 PTA that pupils heading for the 6th grade in the fall not be required to move from their present schools. The P/I group sweetened this with the idea that the younger

siblings of such students should not be required to move either. This proposal, which P/I group members lobbied for with the Board, was finally approved on April 4.

In-service education. Planning for this was initiated by Ken Braun; mindful of the fact that the earlier work had been rejected by the teachers, he asked the principals to take responsibility for setting up a better, more practical program. They were slow to do so, and on October 9 he brought in a list of topics and dates ranging from "managing the open classroom" to "basic skills through individualization" and "pupil evaluation and record keeping". Not surprisingly, topics such as "Understanding the meaning of open education" were relabelled to "If we're doing so well why change it?"; "managing the open classroom", with its connotations of discipline problems, was converted to "setting up the open classroom". Each principal (with the exception of Jim Sylvester) chose or was assigned to managing a specific session; a total of 15 after-school sessions was scheduled for the period November 5 through March 10. Forty-six teachers signed up: once again the self-selection principle was operative (and in fact no teacher at this point knew for sure that she -- or rarely he -- would in fact be teaching in School 2 or 3). Attendance was usually considerably under this figure.

The primary emphasis of the sessions was on the "nuts and bolts", the educational technology involved. And although John said reflectively on October 9, "We should follow in this workshop the same philosophy we want the teachers to follow", the sessions seemed mainly composed of narrative and advice, with little chance for teachers to plan or try out things for themselves. For example, on December 10, the session on "Cooperative Teaching", run by Charlie Waterman with the assistance of two teachers from his old school with 10 years of team teaching experience, was composed of a string of assertions:

> The sound in the open space will be minimal.... The super strength of team teaching is that you can learn from each other.... The kids seem to get along better.... There are two other teachers to cover for you, you don't have to worry about discipline.... Everybody teaches all subjects.... The personality compatibility of the team is crucial.... In the planning you have to look at the entire year and you have to look at the week ahead.... Kids develop an awful lot of independence .... Teaching aides are invaluable, you can't run team teaching without them.[7]

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7) As it turned out, many of these themes would reappear when teachers began to implement team teaching. But at this point they seemed to have little meaning, it seemed.

One of the visiting teachers walked through "a typical day in our school":

> As you can see our time goes in a cycle. After our homeroom period we have one day a whole afternoon on social studies, the colonial period... It works out well when you have three things in a unit.... After homeroom the other days we have our reading, language, phys ed, music.... Monday is an oddball day: the only two normal days are Tuesdays and Thursdays and we rotate... Every other week we go to the media center... Friday is fun and games day. The first 40 minutes we have chorus, 50% of the kids go out and the others do crafts. It is also a good opportunity for parent conferences, either on the phone or face to face. During the week, when kids finish their math, they whip out their craft, (candle dipping and other things related to the Bicentennial). On Monday I have two groups of readers. Once I get the others started on spelling, verbs, penmanship, then I work with the two reading groups.

The teachers seemed, not surprisingly, a bit overwhelmed. The first question was, "How do they know what they'll be doing?", the next, "If you give the assignments as a group what do the children do while they are waiting?" and the next, "Who is responsible for the kids, the homeroom teacher?" It did not help when the visiting teacher explained that she had children themselves, one from each subgroup, write assignments for the others on the board, nor when Charlie, as if all this were not enough, added the information that:

> When you become involved with team teaching, you will be dealing much more with the public.... The major portion of your first month of team teaching is work with parents: it's a PR job.

Though the visitors showed slides of their teaching rooms and explained that "it looks chaotic but it is actually organized chaos", the Westgate teachers, who had little opportunity to ask questions, stirred restlessly as the end of the afternoon session approached; few seemed to the researcher to be actively interested in "open education", and some were, as the questions illustrate, worried. The use of experienced team teachers was in one sense practical and reassuring. But, like most experts, they had streamlined their understanding of their work so much that they did not seem to be able to elicit, or to speak very directly to, the concerns the Westgate teachers had.

By mid-December, a questionnaire to non-enrolled teachers showed that only a dozen or so were interested in a second course to be offered in the spring, and the P/I group discarded the idea.

By mid-February, when Ken asked for feedback, Jim said "Some positive reaction, not as much as in the beginning". John suggested, "Maybe you need a cheerleader type for open ed if people are losing interest". Jim pointed out, "The last guy we had was a cheerleader, and he bombed out". That concluded the diagnostic discussion.

By and large, the in-service sessions (with the exception of one session where George Rieger showed slides of furniture deployment in other open-space schools as a way to mark off teaching spaces in pods and asked for teacher suggestions on furniture ordering) did not enable teachers to influence the plans being made for work in the two new schools. And as the end of the in-service program approached in late February, Ken noted in a P/I group meeting that "many teachers feel a lack of administrative support for open education". In March, Jim Sylvester reported that the teachers "feel it's going downhill... they feel there's less preparation than in the beginning". Charlie confirmed that "I've gotten negative remarks". So the formal workshops, on balance, seemed not to have been especially useful. They seemed not to address the basic fact that the teachers had little or no sense of what their new work would actually look like from minute to minute. Ken began to place more hope in the work that Jane Orenstein, a consultant they were asking to help with building the teaching teams, might be able to accomplish. And some teachers (mainly those from the old School No. 2, who knew for sure they would be teaching in open space) had accepted the invitation made in December for them to visit open-space schools in nearby communities. But the visits also had a slowing-down effect: after the visits four teachers wrote a reassuring note to their colleagues in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades explaining that they did not have to worry about "open education" and could "go slow" in adopting it. The visits, characteristically, also led Ken to order certain learning kits for <u>all</u> grades for <u>both</u> schools; a few teachers had noted the kits with interest during their visit.

The teachers' view that the administrators were not particularly supportive of open education, while more monolithic than reality, was not misplaced. At a March 5 P/I group meeting, Ken Braun reported that Joan Rosenbaum, a parent at School No. 1, had said she supported open education, but that kids in such classrooms didn't have respect for adults, or for materials.

> Charlie: This is true. My teachers say kids who come from Mrs. Stein's class are rude; they draw beautiful pictures but are academically behind. She sends out kids who are disorganized.
>
> Ken: But <u>she's</u> disorganized.
>
> Charlie: That's true, but she's our biggest supporter.

> Ken: That one individual might sway a lot of people against open education on the 24th [budget vote].
>
> Ed: Any building that I'm the leader of, I'm not going to have kids laying on their stomach on the floor, or sitting under the desk. I don't agree with that policy. There's no light under that desk. They produce bad penmanship on their stomachs.

Charlie and Ken said open education wasn't so bad. But Ed continued:

> Well, if the community wants it, and the administrative policy says so, then OK, go ahead and I'll have it. But I'm not in favor of it. I shouldn't have to walk over a kid on the floor if I have to cross from one side of the pod to the other. If they're gonna lie on the floor, make an organized area for them to lie down, somewhere in a corner.

No one tried to dissuade Ed, and both Ken and Charlie said they would "speak" to Mrs. Stein, since they both "had pretty good rapport with her". The general sense here is that Ed's sense of what a traditional classroom should look like, and the political concerns of the others combined to produce just the sort of lack of support which teachers had discerned. George Rieger didn't enter the discussion above. Though he was quite active in the in-service program and encouraged teachers toward more active cooperation, teaming, and individualization, his responses to a questionnaire we asked the administrators to fill out in February showed that he was opposed to the idea that his school should "teach students to set their own goals and impose their own deadlines", or that the school should "give students a substantial role in setting policy". Jim Sylvester had regularly expressed his conservative attitudes, which were shared by his teachers and parents. Charlie Waterman, like Ken and John, was an open education advocate. But he was losing teachers, not gaining them.

In sum, the in-service program seemed to do little to help the teachers with their coming tasks -- partly because they were treated as isolated individuals rather than working teams (assignments had not been made yet), partly because the sessions were telling rather than doing, and partly because the teachers detected little strong enthusiasm from the principals who mattered.

Interestingly enough, though the administrators felt that transferring teachers was quite appropriate, the possibility of shifting principals never reached the action stage. Though Charlie Waterman might have done a very creative job with the new School No. 2, moving him there was not a live option. Angelino defended this in a talk with a researcher, saying:

> It would be a mistake [to move principals]..... the teachers who choose to work in Schools 2 or 3 would be more prone to take the changed style [of teaching] if they knew that at least the principal was a given.... Over lunch or coffee [with teachers] they can say, "I'm intrigued with that kind of school, but is he a guy worth working for?"

And John Manganaro said:

> There's a political problem here. It's a small town. You can't move principals around. If I had my way I'd throw the whole thing open... but I think it's pretty much out of the question.

Reallocating teachers. This process took nearly five months. By December 11 it was clear that at least 11 transfers would be needed, mostly out of School No. 1. And grade-level changes would undoubtedly be needed within both schools. In mid-January, Ken sent out a form asking for teachers' preferences for transferring in (or out) of Schools 2 and 3, and whether they wanted to change grade level, regardless of their location. The form made it clear that the preferences were non-binding. But only a handful of teachers said they were willing to move. On January 29, Charlie reported:

> I'm starting to get hardened resistance to change. Some who said "comme ci, comme ca" now say definitely no. [And the issue is] will I want to change to team teaching?
>
> Ken: And it's the principal of the thing.
>
> Charlie: Yes, the rumor is now that Ed is tough. (laughs)

Later in the meeting, Ken reported data from the teacher members of the system-wide curriculum council:

> They're voicing concerns, gripes. I have a feeling that they're not thinking open, they're thinking textbook. The general feeling of the staff is they don't have all the information they need, not only from above, but even from your [the principals] level.
>
> Jim: I don't tell them. I'm not sure what of our meetings is divulgeable.
>
> George: They get it from the PTA who get it from the Board members.

Ed: I don't tell them.

Ken: The contract allows you to have a 20 or 25 minute meeting -- what do you do?

Charlie: Talk about the bus and the lunchroom.

George: I had a meeting today and asked teachers to submit subjects they want to discuss. I only got two back.

So reluctance to transfer, and considerable restriction of information, were the main features of the situation. It did not help that the administrators seemed to impose their own diagnoses rather than attend to teachers' concerns. On February 20, for example, Ken reported that Mrs. Stein, the open education advocate who had originally volunteered to go to School No. 2 now did not want to go.

> She finds no enthusiasm among other teachers. She can't see who she'll team with.
>
> I told her that we'd have a consultant in there before the end of the year so that we can work out some of these interpersonal things.

Though Mrs. Stein's concerns had not at all been "interpersonal", but concerned with basic commitment to the innovation, Ken's comment, like many that followed, suggested that the P/I group members were more than ready to invoke personal or interpersonal issues in thinking about the team planning ahead, and somehow did not seem to think about the social system of the new school and how it might support change.

The Board was naturally very sensitive to the rezoning question, and thus delayed acting on it. Partly because the P/I group thus had no specifics on the number of teachers that might be involved, and perhaps partly because the task was a threatening one (involuntary transfers might lead to contract problems) the administrators made no further plans on transfers until March 5, when Ken brought in a draft of teacher assignments, school by school and grade by grade. He said:

> Don't let teachers see this because it's not even certain in our minds. But if we can't get the volunteers we need, then we may have to make these assignments. I want you to think about who will work together well. ..I get a feeling that the teachers feel the same as parents at School No. 1 -- they want us to make a decision and get it over with.

But Ken's attribution of motives to the teachers might be called "naive projection". It was clear that the administrators wanted to retain control of the issue. Though both Jane Orenstein and Donald Martin,

consultants who were being interviewed about this time, pointed out that teacher involvement in the planning of transfers and the composition of teams would be desirable, John reiterated, "We're going to handle selection of teams", and Ken said, "Yes, there's no time for it". (Actually, the contract deadline, April 30, was then six weeks away.) The issue seemed more one of prerogative.* On March 5, the group worked out a semi-final allocation, and on April 2, just after the Board had approved the rezoning plan, Ken, launching the final decision task, said:

> We've got to decide how to make staff assignments so they'll be satisfied and so our criterion of not having three open teachers all in one pod is met.[8]
>
> These teachers act as if they have the right to decide who should be transferred. It's our decision to make.
>
> Ed: Yes.

Ken also complained:

> We made tentative lists of assignments in this room, and two teachers come in to complain that they had heard about what we decided. This was supposed to stay in this room.

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* After reading this account, Ken Braun gave an alternate set of interpretations:

> The district had no tradition of teacher involvement in such decisions. The superintendent did not support such involvement, and there was not time to develop and implement a program of teacher involvement that he would buy.

8) At this meeting, John said that some parents at No. 1 were requesting "options", "they don't want open education forced on their kids". He suggested polling parents, but George said "That's putting a fly in the ointment", and Ken pointed out that they might not be able to offer an open or traditional option at each grade level. Ed said, "We can't decide on an individual basis -- we'll go crazy". John said "Is the consensus that we'll soft-pedal it?" and George replied, "That's the way we've done it all along". Nevertheless, they retained the idea of a range of teaching styles in each pod, apparently as a "just in case" buffer against parental protest.

It was clear that information had leaked, though George said "I left my list here and I thought we all did", and Charlie said "I didn't know we had a list". At this meeting, Marian Richman, an assertive teacher, dropped by and announced:

> The Big Three have finally made their decision.
>
> Ken: Who's the Big Three?
>
> Marian: Goldstone, Schine, and Richman. We're going to School No. 2, and we're firing Stoner.

There was much joking, and Marian left, saying, "Deal me in good". This exchange suggested camaraderie, but all that seemed clear from this and the later meeting on April 9 was that administrators believed they knew the strengths and weaknesses of each teacher well enough to make the transfer decisions, and should do so. Sometimes their assessments were stereotyped and harsh: when Dr. Hall, the administrator in charge of special education, asked one principal whether his teachers would be amenable to integrating special education children into their classrooms, he replied, "Some do, some don't": another principal cracked, "You've got the bitch factory over there". Another administrator said dismissingly, "They're getting paid 15 to 18 thousand, it's their responsibility". This exchange seems to have led to an important design decision: Hall said, "I don't want my kids harmed if a teacher says she never individualizes". Thus the "mainstreaming" option was closed out.

A second questionnaire to teachers about their preferences (collected in a matter of two days) showed that now only <u>two</u> teachers were willing to transfer. On April 9, the P/I group met to make final decisions. The discussion was an amalgam of genuine concern and understanding for particular teachers (which ones would get along well with particular other, who did not want to team, who did not want to leave a particular grade level, who was actually interested in open education), explicit horse trading among principals ("I'll give you X if you'll take Y off my hands.") and calculations of the disruption particular teachers might cause if transferred ("She's a screamer." "OK, but I can cool her off." "That one's only a cryer." "No problem then.")[9] During the entire discussion the administrators quite naturally continued to assume that they (a) knew the teachers very well; (b) should continue to make the allocation decisions on their own. (The reader should note that these decisions covered not only which <u>school</u> a teacher would work at, but which specific <u>other teachers</u> she would be working with, and at what <u>grade level</u>.)

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9) These categories, like the "bitch factory" comment, suggest a strong undertone of sexism in the all-male P/I group's assumptions and actions as they made decisions about the (nearly) all-female teacher group.

At the close of the April 9 meeting, the principals individually contacted the teachers to be transferred (with priority to "screamers" over "cryers"); the list was presented to the Board on April 12. There was some political contact between individual teachers and Board members, but only one special education teacher entered a formal complaint by the time of the April 30 deadline, and the list stood. On May 6, Ken reported:

> The special subject teachers have been complaining about transfers. One came to me and did everything but proposition me.
>
> George: I think we should let the music teachers be happy, because they cooperated with each other to make voluntary transfers.
>
> Ken: Beware of Riegers bearing gifts!
>
> John: Now the motives are on the table. She got the other teachers to go along with her, and you want to keep her.
>
> Charlie: I think we should keep control over the situation. We shouldn't let these teachers get their way because the next year the grade level teachers might want to change.

So with this last confirmation of administrative prerogative, the staffing reallocation rested.

Consultant acquisition and use. The P/I group also spent energy during this period on getting and using help with the development of the social system of the new schools. It will be recalled that our project offered matching funds for this purpose. By early December, Ken said to a researcher:

> The general feeling is that we'd like someone in the field of communications, someone to help plan a public education campaign, help them understand the reforms we're making. Also improve communication between administrators and teacher, and between teachers.

And at a January 29 meeting, John said:

> We want them to help us get teachers working together in teams.
>
> George: We [each principal] have to get our philosophy together so we can deal with these teams. We'll have to spend a lot more time with them next year.

John: Sure.

George: Could this consultant work with us in planning faculty meetings?

Ed: Could they work with us on interpersonal things?

John: Yes, they can do everything in communications.

On February 3, and February 25, part of the P/I group interviewed three possible consultants. Because of scheduling problems, the two-most concerned principals, George and Ed, were not present the first day, and "for continuity", Ken said, not the second day either.[10)]

Of the three consultants, the group expressed least interest in Joseph Tausky, a professor of education who did not seem very concrete in his comments. They talked for some time with Donald Martin, a professional organizational consultant with school experience, whom John Manganaro knew and respected. Martin confronted them rather bluntly with questions and comments:

Martin: Do the teachers want open education?

Charlie: They support it philosophically but just don't know how.

Martin: "I don't understand" is an easy way of saying "I don't like it."

He went on to ask about the history of the planning and their assumptions, and said:

You're bringing in a consultant awfully far down the pike. The real client here is the teachers, not you guys. You should bring in the teachers even when you are interviewing consultants.

He suggested that planning should be done with the people who had vested interests: the two absent principals, Ken -- and the teachers.

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10) This seems rather curious, and suggests (charitably) that George and Ed trusted the others to make good decisions; it may also be that they simply did not care. Even more strangely: Ken explained to a researcher that there "was no feeling that this consultant will be working mostly with my teachers" on George and Ed's part -- though the central area of need was clearly theirs.

> I wouldn't bring in a prepackaged deal. The teachers need to know if they're going to get screwed in some way. All three steps -- selection of teachers for the schools, forming the teams, and how the teams will work together -- are equally important. All those steps could be educational and experiential -- not just administrative.

He warned the administrators that he would not be "just a hired hand", and proposed spending at least three days with a representative planning group including teachers to set up further work together.

The third consultant, Jane Orenstein, a professor of education with a good deal of practical experience in working with teaching teams, was not so confronting. She tacitly accepted the administrators' view that the problem was one of re-educating the teachers. Not surprisingly, they decided to go ahead with her. Ken explained to a researcher:

> We made the decision on what we felt was our paramount need. We need less concentration on process, and more time on the nitty-gritty of working together.

"Process" seemed to allude to the fact, which Martin had surfaced, that power relationships were at stake, and that decision-making about the coming organizational changes should presumably involve all the participants.

Orenstein met with the complete P/I group on March 19. Though she too expressed concern about top-down decision-making ("If you came to me with this questionnaire and said 'Choose, but we have the last word', I'd be furious, I'd feel I'd been had."), she agreed to do a workshop with teachers in the spring after the assignments had been made. She told the administrators she would serve as a "limited teacher advocate": she would help teachers identify the problems they anticipated in moving to the new teaching set-up, and transmit these to the P/I group. Later, she gave her opinion to a researcher that, unlike Martin, who "came on too tough", she "really spoke to their specific hurts... they saw me as the good middle person...I would speak their language, was not unmindful of their concerns as administrators," while being "a purveyor of the teachers' concerns".

Like Martin, she felt the task was "too little and too late", and said to Ken Braun, "You're asking teachers to resocialize themselves in a day". She recalled later:

> He said to me, look, Jane, I've been working on this project for two years. I don't think he heard me. Since he had all this involvement, how could they [the teachers] <u>not</u> be involved? Basically

> [the administrators] had no sense of how you would resocialize people into a new setting.

Even Angelino, who did not see himself as a "human systems" specialist, would have agreed with her. That January, he had already said to a researcher:

> It's one thing to know about it [an educational option], another to prefer it, another thing to help bring it about.... Just as a building is not a school, people are not a staff unless you go beyond the idea of just assembling them... If you deny or frustrate or don't reckon with the attitudinal/behavioral component, you've only got potential, you don't have achievement.

But by that time he was rarely in working contact with the principals, and in any event, their behavior certainly did not suggest that they understood the sort of concern he was outlining.

By May 6, the P/I group was thinking that the teams should spend at least a week of time together in the summer planning, because as George said, "It's not going to work perfectly anyway until they get into the classroom". But Ed didn't see any need for a consultant's working with the teachers during the summer. He reported that he was planning, with his PTA's help, to hold a tea on June 16 for all the teachers who would be coming to his school. George, too, was beginning to have reservations: he had asked a colleague in a neighboring district about Orenstein, and heard that she had "taken the side of the teachers" there in a conflict with administrators. So the P/I group decided that Orenstein should only do a couple of days' work before summer (and in principle be available for the fall). There were 45 teacher "spots" (with $200 a week stipends) available for summer work district-wide, of which 30 were allocated for the two schools.

On May 25, Orenstein met with most of the teachers who were heading for schools 2 and 3, and the student interns. (The fact that the principals deliberately absented themselves, feeling the teachers would be more open without them, is one more indication that they saw the problem as one of re-educating the <u>teachers</u>, rather than building the system of working <u>relationships</u> between themselves and the teachers.[11])

The meeting lasted about an hour and a half; Orenstein asked the teachers to break up into their team groups, share what they were now doing, and make a list of needs they anticipated. The talk in teams ranged widely from carpeting and colors in the classrooms to feelings about team teaching, scheduling, noise, and worries about materials.

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11) Orenstein told a researcher she thought this was "stupid", but did not act to change the set-up.

Ken Braun drifted back into the room: many teachers had already left, but one looked over and said, "Mr. Braun, we're going to attack you". He smiled but didn't respond; as the meeting broke up Jane explained that she would write him a memo with the teachers' concerns.

The memo, two days later, explained:

> The general overall feedback I got was that there was a confusion of just what was expected of teachers by administration. Is it possible for some short meetings to be set up where administration talks <u>with</u> teachers about long term goals, and also some collective discussion about short term goals?
>
> I strongly urge that the principals in 2 and 3 create a group (with teachers) or committee that begins to build agenda for meetings where some of these discussions can begin to take place.

The memo also reviewed many specific concerns of various pod teams, including classroom organization, filing system, specific workbooks, setting up rooms, learning centers, and science units. There were also suggestions that teachers from School No. 2 and 3 continue to meet together, and that Orenstein meet with some teams again. Three different groups asked that the first week of school have early dismissal (by 1:00) to permit time for "organizing in the actual setting".

The post-mortem in the principals' group reported mixed reactions from teachers, from "a waste of time" to "a good beginning". The discussion veered to the case of a teacher at the workshop who "felt she was rejected by her team members", and went first to her analyst and then to John.

> Ken: She didn't want to transfer from the beginning. We'll have to see what happens during the summer workshop. I think she's got to be a traditional teacher [in the pod].. so treat her with kid gloves. Good luck.
>
> Ed: She'll be the one who needs luck, but I'll meet with her next week.

Here again the administrators seemed locked into the idea that "personality" was the issue, rather than the building of a coherent working social system. And when Ken reported that Jane had told him that the teachers wanted to have early dismissal at the start of school, he added:

> I'm not so sure that's necessary. That may be just expression of some of their fears. We'd also get a lot of complaints from the police department, they

> didn't like the Tuesday early dismissal. And we don't want teachers at No. 1 and No. 4 to feel they're being slighted.

As it turned out that fall, when the principals and teachers saw the reality of what would be required to open school, they requested and got Board approval for early dismissal. But the first impulse was to be non-responsive, to treat "fears" as non-real, and to re-invoke the Westgate uniformity rule.

Orenstein, for her part, felt depressed. She said to a researcher a few days later:

> What am I doing here? I know I cannot be useful. It's doomed to failure.

She felt, however, that she could not leave the situation, partly, she said, because she felt an obligation to the research project, and partly because she wanted to be helpful if at all possible. She agreed to hold another meeting with the teachers, on June 17, the last day of the school year. A total of 12 teachers were chosen to come (those, Ken said, "who needed most to learn to get along with each other"), some in the afternoon because of "limited funds for substitutes"; all but one were from School No. 2. Again the consultant asked teachers for their concerns; she also asked them, in teams, to plan their actual first day, as a concrete way of surfacing issues and problems.

Orenstein's memo to Ken Braun said:

> The few hours were very productive, given all the uncertainties...teachers focused on the real situation of being together...got a good start on the anticipation of problems, along with a good sense of how they might start.

A main theme in the needs was that of adequate time for planning, supported by early dismissal once a week, the use of special teachers, and scheduling which permitted all grade level teachers to be free at the same time. She suggested, with the teachers' agreement, that grade level representatives be created to meet regularly with Ed Pallacino "to provide agenda items, aid in communication, etc.": the representatives might also "produce a memo regularly that tells what's going on". Her memo also proposed "an educational program for parents", before the October open house, including "informal teas and perhaps voluntary seminars". Though Orenstein told a researcher that she expected to be called for further work in the fall, "when they're in the soup", the memo did not mention this. Thus Orenstein worked for a total of three days after her first contact with the P/I group, though the matching funds available would have financed a total of up to 12. John's view a year ago that "we need all the help we can get" somehow seemed not to have been acted on.

Orenstein said to a researcher later:

> The teachers I think are typical of most school systems. They hear the big message and they somehow try to deal with it in their own terms. A few are a bit more forthright than others, but there's no organized voice. They are kind of receivers of policy.
>
> The administrators seemed to have no idea what was going to be necessary to work something out in a new setting. For the teachers, it was very much survival-oriented: how were they going to live in this new place? How they were going to face each other, what was it going to look like, did they have to team teach, did they have to make friends with the others, were they really going to have to change their style?

Thus her view was of passive teachers trying to cope, without support or understanding from above.

Teachers' summer schedules -- and the principals' need for vacation time -- meant that teams would meet at varying times for final planning. For example, the School No. 2 1st grade group was to meet July 19-23; the second and third grades July 26-30; the 4th grade August 9-13; and the kindergarten and 5th grade August 23-27. All were to meet at School No. 3, since School No. 2 construction was still incomplete. George's teachers' planning times were similarly scattered over the summer.

We do not have observational data on these planning meetings. However, we did ask teachers retrospectively (in the spring of 1976) to rate the impact of the summer planning time. In School No. 2, 61% said it had had a strong or moderately positive effect, only 11% said it had "little or no positive effect", and 16% saw clear negative effects. The School No. 3 teachers were more conservative: 54% saw positive effects, 23% said it had little or no positive effect, and 5% mentioned negative ones.

The same question was asked about Orenstein's sessions with the teachers. The impact was clearly less, not surprisingly: in School 2, 39% mentioned positive effects, 36% said there was little positive impact, and 15% saw negative ones. In School 3, where she had much less contact, the figures were 12% positive, 62% little or no positive effect, and 14% negative.

On Wednesday, September 1, the day for orientation of new teachers, a researcher called Ed Pallacino. He said that "nothing was ready, everything is in boxes, the buildings are not complete". The Board had OK'd a 1:00 P.M. dismissal for all of next week: school would open the day after Labor Day, next Tuesday, September 7.

Researcher: Will they be spending the afternoons planning?

Pallacino: No, unpacking.

Researcher: So you'll just be working on the physical set-up.

Pallacino: Yes.

Researcher: I'd like to come and hang around then. Maybe I can help unpack some cartons while I'm at it.

Pallacino: Fine. I'm sure that will be OK with George too.

Researcher: If it makes you feel any better, most of the schools we've studied have opened with some degree of chaos.

Pallacino: Not this much.

Ed Pallacino's school would undoubtedly open on schedule, as would George Rieger's. Most of the teachers were experienced, and the spectre of chaos would undoubtedly not materialize. But whether anything like John's and Ken's original hopes for "open education" -- or even the emphasis on individualization and cooperative teaching that the two principals had been willing to buy into -- could be achieved was far from clear as the eve of school opening approached.

The Emerging Organizational Design

Here it may be useful to review the goals the P/I group held for the new schools, then to examine the sort of social structure which this last year's planning and implementation had led to.

In February, we asked the P/I group members to fill out a long checklist concerning the goals they felt were important for the schools. All six "strongly favored" the following goals:

To be a place where students would like to be.
To teach students the basic skills.
To include "special education" students in the mainstream of school activities.

And several other goals had five of six people strongly favoring them. Most of these dealt with student performance:

To be a place where everybody "succeeds".
To teach students how to get along with others.
To help students learn to become good citizens.

To aid the development of students into mature healthy and stable adults.
To provide a good learning environment for low motivated kids with poor basic skills.
To improve the discipline and behavior of "difficult" children.

Others dealt with the school set-up:

To enable teachers to feel less isolated in their classrooms, to feel more cooperative.
To provide special counseling services for students.
To provide personalized and individualized programming and instruction.
To utilize different ways of grouping students in addition to/in place of traditional grade distinctions.

And one goal shared by five members of the P/I group emphasized:

To provide for increased capability for future educational change in the district.

The general flavor, then, is of a series of unexceptional goals for student outcomes, plus teaching arrangements stressing teaming, individualization and flexible grouping.

But when we look at the responses of Ed Pallacino and George Rieger as they considered goals for their schools, we note that Ed felt "neutral" on the question of whether his school "should increase the independence and autonomy of students", a goal which both Ken and John "favored strongly". George, while he "favored somewhat" the independence/autonomy goal, "had doubts" whether his school should "teach students to set their own goals and impose their own deadlines" or "give students a substantial role in setting policy". These were also goals which Ken and John favored strongly. Here we see documented the stronger commitment of the two top administrators to a role for students more active than the traditional one.

When asked what goals would probably be given highest priority once the schools were actually under way, both George and Ed mentioned "To aid the personal development of students into mature, healthy and stable adults" and "to enable teachers to feel less isolated, more cooperative". They differed otherwise:

George	Ed
To improve learning opportunities for gifted and talented children	To be a place where students would like to be.
To provide a good learning environment for low motivated kids with poor basic skills.	To teach students the basic skills.
To provide personalized and individualized programming and instruction.	To foster an atmosphere of trust between adults and children.

George expected to give priority to student output somewhat more, while Ed was more focused on learning climate.

There was a partial match here with the expectations of the top administrators: John too expected work with "low motivated kids" and individualization, while Ken expected individualization, work on basic skills and personal development toward adulthood. But both also expected priority on such items as "being a place where everyone succeeds", and an increase in student self-esteem, which were not at all in George's and Ed's priority expectations, though they did favor such goals. So individualization was a consensus item, but student-oriented affective goals were not.

The questionnaire also asked for anticipated problems during the first year of school. Ed said "The adjustment to a different type of school organization for pupils, parents and teachers", and George said "Teachers working in open space". John predicted "Classroom management, teachers working in teams, keeping teachers and parents from overreacting to the superficial [sic] differences that open space will present". And Ken expected that "Continued in-service training of staff" would be of most concern.

Finally, we asked "What do you personally hope to gain from your association with the [new] school?" Ken and John naturally saw the "bigger picture":

> Ken: Satisfaction from seeing a better learning environment for our pupils.
>
> John: Experiences in watching change take place and looking at factors which affected that change.

Ed reiterated his concern with climate:

> I do not hope for any personal gain. My primary hope is to create an environment which is pleasant and conducive for all children not only to learn,

but to respect one another and to have a good rapport between teacher and pupil, and teacher with teacher.

George was non-committal:

As much as the children and teachers.

Given this general picture of goals, what sort of organizational design seemed to have emerged? And did it seem likely that it would support movement toward shared goals, or at least those held by each principal?

Angelino remarked to a researcher in January, about the same time these goals data were collected, that the P/I group was only beginning to think about the social/personal dimensions of the school, and had little in the way of a social blueprint. With some exceptions, the P/I group seems to have made the natural and energy-saving assumption that "everyone knows what a school is like"; roles and groups such as a principal, secretary, nurse, pupils organized by grade-levels, supplemental teachers, librarian, child study specialists, special education teachers, a PTA, and a general faculty meeting for information handling, simply fell into place because no one thought to do otherwise. And the role relations among these actors similarly went unquestioned.

Broadly speaking, this "off-the-shelf" design defined the principal as the line manager of the school, with responsibility for all aspects of ongoing operation, and for support (and evaluation) of teachers.

Teachers were organized by grade-level groups, usually three to a pod (sometimes two) with the primary expectation that they should "team" - plan (or at least coordinate) the work they did with the 50-75 students that were situated in their pod (or adjoining classrooms). The second primary role expectation for teachers seemed to be that they should "individualize" as much as possible and implicitly avoid batch teaching.

Angelino and the architect had pushed the idea of "neighborhoods" (in School No. 2, the two groups of 75 that shared a pod with a corridor between them), but it seemed clear that the grade-level group was the primary unit. Angelino also disparaged the idea of a team leader, which had been used in the nearby district he had had the planners visit, saying that problems of "hierarchy" existed.* There does not seem to have been any further consideration of team leaders, and Orenstein's last-minute proposal of pod representatives, supported by teachers, did not materialize.

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* According to Ken Braun, the Board did not favor team leaders, because they anticipated that team leaders would want extra money.

How this design was "peopled" or staffed is of some importance. First, most of the regular teachers who had been transferred into the new schools (eight in School No. 2, and four in School No. 3) were there involuntarily. Second, few people had influence over whom they would be working with in teams. Third, the composition in each pod had been set up if possible to include a range of preferred teaching styles. Providing distinctly different options (open, traditional) at each level, however, was expressly ruled out, and teachers were expected to develop a shared program. This seemed likely to heighten the possibility of conflict (or at least, non-cooperation) within pods. We might also note that such an arrangement would do little to defuse the potential anger of parents who had wanted a traditional option.

The designers did add an important supplementary role: student interns, relabeled "aides", to assist with what looked like a demanding and new set of teaching tasks.

In spite of the earlier allegiance to mainstreaming of special education students, separate classes for them were maintained, as we have seen. Supplemental teachers (science, art, music) were to be scheduled for work with pupils; the hope was that this could be done to permit pod planning time. A range of special service personnel were also to work from time to time with particular types of students (those with reading problems, or who needed help in English as a second language). A "child study team" of psychologist, guidance counselor and social worker considered and worked with problem cases.

The student role in the school was implicitly defined as that of a reasonably well-behaved receiver of services; roles such as teacher of peers, or adviser to teachers, or (as we have seen) policy-influencer were not considered, or rejected.

Furniture and equipment received a good deal of attention from the P/I group (and seemed in fact to be the only area where influence from teachers was invited); the planners were clear that furniture in particular would serve as territory markers, definers of spaces, and protectors of children from distraction. They spent a good deal of time on ordering new furniture, and on swapping/redistributing furniture across the four schools.

Educational materials were naturally seen as crucial for achieving effective individualization: here too, however, though teacher suggestions were elicited through Ken's district-wide curriculum committee, materials decisions were made from above. When, in November, John said he wanted to "pinpoint a place where teachers could have real input", George said:

> Let me give you a counter-example. How many times have teachers been the ones to choose a textbook? Almost never.
>
> John: But we make it completely explicit.

John's acceptance of the "explicitness" of the arrangement suggested that input ought somehow to come in other areas than text selection.* But these were never specified during the "designing" of the two schools. (The quotes suggest our belief that little direct attention was given to organizational design alternatives other than the conventional.)

Structures and mechanisms for relating the school to its environment were also drawn from the conventional bank: each school would continue to have a PTA: the schools would have occasional open houses; regular parent conferences were built in.

Analysis and Commentary

How well did the P/I group deal with the primary tasks before it during this final year of planning and implementation?

Political stabilization. On balance, this task was generally handled with some agility and skill. The P/I group was able to protect resources, not only for the school itself, but for summer in-service training in a time of great fiscal uncertainty. And community endorsement of the school never seemed to be in serious doubt. The most typical strategy was that of buffering and avoidance, pointedly not doing things to raise hackles; the P/I group members also engaged in discreet lobbying when that seemed indicated. The final rezoning proposal was a good exhibit of a solution that not only accepted the demands of a hostile community group but went them one better. And the submission of multiple proposals, with Plan B preferred, was a solid strategy for demonstrating that all the bases had been professionally covered and a judicious recommendation arrived at.

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* After reading this account, Ken Braun commented:

> It is unfair to leave the impression that teachers have not selected textbooks - the truth is just the opposite. For the past 13 years elementary textbooks have been selected using staff input and a staff evaluation procedure. Written evaluations by teachers have been collected and tallied and books which have been the choice of the majority of staff members have been those recommended to the board for approval. Such board approval has always been gained. It became obvious many years ago that one year after a new adoption nobody would own up to having voted for that book. Therefore, years ago I began the practice of saving the teacher evaluations if they were ever needed to prove that teachers did indeed vote for certain books. The only occasions in recent years when the final textbook selection has been made by administration were in one or two cases where teacher opinion was hopelessly deadlocked between two books and administration cast the vote to break the deadlock.

Knowledge utilization. Although the P/I group members did, as before, rely on Angelino for technical advice on such matters as furniture and equipment -- and they sought out the competence of experienced practitioners both for the in-service course and through visits to neighboring open-space schools -- when it came to matters such as the organizational design of the schools, the selection and composition of teams, and the development of working relationships, they resolutely chose to rely on their own resources rather than those of experts. Although our research project director (in explaining the availability of consultants), Angelino, Ken and John all talked at one time or another about "developing the social system", it seems likely that the principals -- and even Ken and John -- had very little idea of just what might be involved.[12] Their views steadily seemed to be that technical issues of open-space education were the main thing to focus on, that individuals needed to be re-educated or reassured, and that "personality conflicts" would be the main problem in teams. The P/I group rejected a consultant who confronted them with the need for serious system-oriented development, and half-heartedly chose another who was willing to cooperate with their biases; even she felt frustrated and unable to be particularly helpful, and was not asked to help at the point (the summer planning) where she might have been most useful. Her advocacy for teachers, and her suggestions for structural additions, went largely unheeded by administrators, though the School No. 2 teachers liked them. Finally, though a good deal of the final planning went on unobserved by us, it does not seem likely that the P/I group or the teachers did much to utilize expert knowledge on the functioning of open (or even open-space) classrooms other than that made available by other practitioners (we heard of no instances where state department or intermediate service center personnel, journal articles or research reports were consulted).*

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12) We might note that Angelino, who had played a quasi-managerial role with the planners, in effect came to the end of his competence and left the P/I group. Without a clear meta-plan, and little sense of the "system-building" needs ahead, the P/I group did not realize that new sorts of knowledge utilization would be necessary.

* After reading this analysis, Ken Braun commented:

> I feel that the statements with respect to the reasons for the rejection of one consultant and the selection for another are a little harsh. It would appear that the reasons given here are those gleaned from the rejected and the selected consultant rather than from the discussions at the administrative rap sessions. Time did not truly permit the kind of approach that the rejected consultant was sponsoring nor did input from teachers on the curriculum council indicate that that approach would meet their needs. They were asking for someone to help them learn to work cooperatively with others

Further vision development. During this final P/I year, there seems to have been some slippage from the originally-conceived goals, at least as far as Ken and John were concerned. Philosophically, they had hoped for a more humanized, more "open" approach which would heighten pupils' self-esteem and develop their sense of responsibility by giving them more voice in their education. But though Ken and John, as late as January, were still committed to these goals, the two key principals were not. And even Ken and John recognized not only that the idea of all four schools going "open" was an unachievable (though perhaps useful) myth, but that the goals for School 2 and 2 would have to be scaled back to "individualization" and "teaming", with the latter implying flexible grouping.

Was the "organizational sketch" for the schools congruent with these revised goals? Generally, yes: the grade-level form of organization with program planning responsibility given to each teacher group, made sense. And it seemed at least possible that the sorts of educational materials being ordered would enable close attention to pupils' individual needs. But, as we shall suggest below, the organizational structure and processes envisioned would only permit these things to happen, and did not give promise of strongly supporting them.

Social-architectural design. In general, the P/I group chose resoundingly familiar, as contrasted with innovative, design features. More precisely, it seems very unlikely that they considered innovative options at all in most cases. This is understandable given the relatively traditional history of education in Westgate. But there was a more serious design fault: there were some goals held by planners for which no organizational mechanisms were set up. Though Ed Pallacino wanted good rapport and a pleasant climate, there were no explicit structures or procedures to insure this. Though it was quite clear that everyone wanted good team planning and cooperation (and that this way of working would be very new to many teachers, most of whom had only taught in self-contained classrooms) there were no regular mechanisms (other than ordinary teacher-principal contact) envisioned for collecting data from teams on their problems and needs for assistance. And although most planners thought the new schools should "increase the district's capability for change", there were no mechanisms set up for

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who would be assigned to them in open spaces.

It is regrettable that our State department had little to offer them in this area. However, what may not have been apparent was that curriculum council members were flooded with reprints of journal articles and research reports (copies to their building principals) which were discussed at curriculum council meetings and which were their responsibility to share with their colleagues in the individual schools.

explicit learning from the experience of going into open-space teaching, to diffuse that learning to other schools in the district, or to draw lessons for other innovations in the future.

So, given the questionable quality and uneven coverage of the in-service program, and the sketchiness of what Orenstein was able to accomplish, the probability of successful implementation of the goals of individualization and teaming seemed low. In any case, it would be dependent on what the teachers were able to accomplish for themselves during their summer planning time (and in turn on their prior skills, their interest in open education, and their preferred teaching styles), more than it would be on the social system that had been so far envisioned.

Other key themes. Our account has repeatedly pointed to the fact that the P/I group members retained decision power over planning/implementation issues. Both external consultants expected a poor implementation because of this, and we as researchers tended to do so as well. The P/I group probably made poorer decisions -- especially in terms of planning and support for the new teaching roles -- than they would have had teachers been present. On the other side, however, the rezoning and re-allocation of teachers might well have been more turbulent and painful under a participative model than it turned out in fact to be. In addition, we should note carefully that the Westgate system, like most educational organizations, is "loosely coupled". Ken and John were clearly not able to impose their goals on the principals, for example. It also seemed quite unlikely at this point that Ed and George would be able to require teaming or individualization, even if they wished to do so. Lower participants in school systems ordinarily have a good deal of autonomy, and in some respects can do much as they please.

We should note here that the "uniformity" theme also recurred fairly steadily throughout this final year of P/I work: it affected, usually in a constricting and conservative way, a range of decisions including the allocation of teachers, the materials ordered, in-service work, and projected time for planning after school would open.

Key Decisions

To summarize: the main decisions of importance during this period were for the P/I group to retain close control of the work; (tacitly) to reconfirm the decision to equalize the size of the four elementary schools; to rezone the schools to accomplish that end, with a proviso for non-transfer of 6th graders and their siblings that defused community protest; the actual transfers and team assignments (including the idea of having a mix of "open" and "traditional) teachers

at each grade level);* to reject a consultant who suggested involving teachers actively, and to make limited use of one whose task was defined (in effect) as soothing teachers' worries.

The P/I group's capabilities seemed generally adequate: their decision-making skills (including their ability to make contingency plans) stayed moderately strong, as did their ability to timetable. If there was a weakness, it stemmed from their top-down approach: though they recurrently sought data and acted on it, their reflexivity often tended to be shallow, based on minimal or half-heartedly collected information, especially from teachers.

Intermediate Outcomes

As we have seen, both financial resources and stakeholder endorsements seemed to be perfectly adequate at this point. The quality of P/I decisions was probably worst in the organizational design area, where the group's avoidance of expert assistance was hampering -- and was weak as well in the critical domain of in-service education and team-building. Otherwise quality seemed reasonable. The ownership of planning decisions was if anything higher than before (especially for the rezoning and teacher allocation ones). The energy which Angelino (and Ken and John afterward) had put into building the P/I group's capabilities was paying off. But every strength in a social system has its associated weaknesses. The critical question here is whether the two schools, conventionally organized but set up with a minimum of support and planning for their innovative aspects, would be able to achieve even the scaled-down goals their planners said they held for them. The answer was far from clear at this point.

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* After reading this account, Ken Braun commented:

> The idea of having a mixture of open and traditional teachers at each grade level was not an accident but had been verbalized at public meetings on open education and had been discussed at administrative sessions. That decision was a philosophical one based on the belief that if open education should meet the learning style needs of all children then we must accept the fact that some children learn best in a traditional style. Apart from the philosophy, from a pragmatic point of view this was also the most desirable way to respond to the objections of a number of people to the concept of open education resulting from the bad press it was getting in national publications such as the Reader's Digest. It just so happens that in this particular case the political realities coincided with the philosophical commitment of Ken and John.

Early Implementation

The next section of our story covers the period from the first day of school up through mid-year (early January), a time full of start-up stresses and uncertainty, with gradual stabilization.

Changes in the P/I Group and Meta-Plan

For the preceding year the P/I group had in effect been the administrators' "rap session". A considerable shift occurred at this point. While the "rap sessions" continued, they were quite rare (only two meetings were held before January), and management of the planning/implementation process largely reverted, as we shall see, to those closest to the scene.* For practical purposes, each principal carried out most P/I functions, supplemented by occasional faculty and teaching team meetings. In neither school was there a formal steering or managing group working with the principal. Though a PTA was organized in each school, it had little or nothing to do with P/I functions.

The approach taken to the future was essentially that of "backing into it", coping from day to day with the not inconsiderable problems that emerged. Though there was a vague intention at the beginning to have some in-service assistance for teachers, none had been scheduled as school began. The timetable for the year was simply the ordinary school timetable with intermittent vacations; there were no events contemplated that would give special attention to continued planning and implementation. The data used to steer the P/I process were the regular ongoing flow of problems, complaints, issues, and reactions which are the stuff of life in any school.

The primary linkages between planning and implementation were essentially the principal's continuing role, and the fact that most teaching teams had had time during the summer to consider what they would be doing, how they would divide labor, the materials and equipment at hand, and how they would organize their space. The interest and commitment of Ken Braun and John Manganaro, and the existence of the "rap session" mechanism presented another type of P/I linkage, but one rather removed from the primary action. The rap session was used as a sort of backboard against which implementation problems could be bounced, but its infrequency of meeting meant that it played a minor role. And while, as we shall see, Ken and John did visit the schools from time to time, and talked on the phone and face to face with the two principals about problems and issues, they were preoccupied enough with other, system-wide, issues that their potential role in aiding P/I linkage was minimized. Too, it seemed that they may have felt a

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* According to Ken Braun, this was deliberate; his view was that each principal felt the problems he had did not warrant rap session time away from the building.

certain diffidence, a reluctance to invade the principals' sphere of autonomy -- the "loose coupling" idea again.*

In some ultimate sense, of course, P/I functions simply devolved on to teaching teams and individuals: how much and what sort of team planning took place, how space, materials and schedule were deployed, and what experience students actually had from day to day and minute to minute in Schools No. 2 and 3 depended on P/I decisions made by teachers trying to cope with a new space and new role expectations, often with relatively little support from the principal. As we shall see, the degree to which core aspects of the new schools such as "teaming", "individualization" and "flexible grouping" were implemented varied a great deal from one grade-level group to another, so it is difficult to make general school-wide statements. Nevertheless, we shall try.

Chronology

Keeping the flow of events clear in the two schools and at the district-wide level is not a simple matter. Here we shall first give a flavor of what the opening day in each school was like, then pull back to discuss more generally the common problems faced in both schools and the district generally. Then we shall return to a more detailed discussion of the course of events in each school, and what life seemed to be like in them by the turn of the year.[13]

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* Ken Braun's comment after reading this lends further support to this view:

> The lack of intrusion of central office in the early implementation after the opening of school was in deliberate response to the fact that both George and Ed did not want central office intrusion in the opening months, feeling that they had more than enough to cope with due to the incomplete state of buildings and their own problems. It was the opinion of both Ken and John, having worked with these administrators for a number of years, that any intrusive efforts on our part would be counterproductive at this time.

13) We append here a methodological note of some importance. During the preceding year of planning and implementation work, the focal point of attention was naturally the P/I group. Our project staffing permitted us to cover most meetings of the P/I group, which were usually one to two weeks apart, and to supplement these contacts with occasional phone calls and interviews.

Now that Schools No. 2 and 3 were opening for students, we had similar staffing constraints. But we were now faced with two new social systems, each of them operating not every two weeks

for a few hours, but all day every weekday. And instead of a four-person group we were faced with two schools, each including over 40 adults and about 400 children.

Our solution to this was to do intensive, spaced sampling. Field workers visited each school about every ten days, usually spending the better part of a day, attempting to talk with the principals and as many teachers as possible. We reasoned that this would give us a reasonable sense of how the school was developing and changing over time, and what the main issues and problems were.

We believe this strategy was successful. It should be noted, of course, that using it meant that the field worker would not witness the great majority of the interactions in the school. Thus we could never be very sure that any given piece of behavior or comment made to a field worker was "representative". And we could expect some behavior to be non-meaningful, surprising or puzzling to us. These inherent problems were exacerbated by the fact that old and new field workers were making entry to a new situation (the two new schools), needing to build the sort of credibility long enjoyed with the P/I group. This did not come instantly.

From mid-October onward, the primary field worker in School No. 2 was Wynne Galanter, and in School No. 3 Dan Lauffer. Miles visited each school occasionally, and attended most P/I group meetings, supplementing this with phone calls. Each field worker also collected routinely the sorts of documents routinely distributed to school staffs (meeting agendas, announcements of rules and special events), as well as other salient documents (newspaper articles, lesson planning material supplied by teachers, schedules, etc.).

In summary: we were witness to a sample of events in the schools, spaced over time. The chronology and the events reported are accurate to the best of our knowledge, and our analysis rests on the data we were able to collect. But we were often puzzled, and our understanding of why things happened as they did often seemed partial. A great deal went on out of our sight. It was partially in anticipation of this research problem that we had already committed ourselves to intensive survey data collection from teachers and parents during the coming spring, a procedure which would let us make a careful assessment of "the state of the system" toward the end of its first year.

Opening Day. The field worker who arrived at School No. 2 at 8:30 on Tuesday, September 8 in the midst of a hubbub of arriving parents and children noted that there was still a great deal of construction going on outside, and some inside spaces (the kindergarten, the multipurpose room and the mini-theater) were not finished. But, she said:

> Most things were unpacked, chairs and tables were set up. The first grades were set up in three separate spaces in the pod. All with little desks and chairs, wall decorations up, blue carpeting, very bright, pretty, comfortable.

A number of teachers had come in with Ed Pallacino over the Labor Day weekend to set up the school, but Ed was still tense and worried about many things, most immediately the danger to children in the uncompleted construction and the fact that 75 new wardrobes had just been delivered that morning, and were stacked up on the sidewalk outside.

In the first grade pod, the teachers were sorting out which students belonged where; Adrienne Moravia asked her children to stand up, and she walked around tapping each child on the head and saying his or her name, asking the other children to count. The field worker noted:

> They all got angelic smiles as if the touch of the teacher was a sign from above. Very good vibes coming out.

In another first grade class, Joan Ratner, young and pregnant, was asking her children, "What's the first thing we do in the morning?" The right answer, it developed, was "say the Pledge of Allegiance", which followed. She gave instructions about going to the lavatory, and admonished children:

> If you see your friend, don't wave, because you're going to see your friends a lot, and we can't have that.

She handed out pencils, explained the importance of keeping them in desks, and introduced Ed Pallacino ("a man who is very important in our school") who came by to say that he was "very glad to see you all so wide awake this morning".

Thoughts of the meaning of open space were clearly on teachers' minds, as the comment above suggests. But they did not seem worried: Sandy Mikva, who was doing a warm sort of mutual teasing with her students, looked across the first-grade pod and laughingly said to Mrs. Moravia, "My kids are doing what you are saying!" Sandra Hartmann, the guidance counselor, passed through smiling, saying, "Is she doing her shtick again?" The field worker's sense was:

> They seem to be very sympathetic and caring teachers in relation to the kids on this first day. Good rapport between them.

But life was not easy. In the fifth grade pod, Mary Hahn, not knowing why the field worker was there, appealed:

> Maybe you can help us. We have three classes and the special education class all in this one spot and it's just impossible. It's so noisy, I can't stand it. Everything's not unpacked, it's just a mess.

When the field worker explained she was only there to observe, and suggested she talk to Mr. Pallacino, Mary beckoned him over to give her complaints.

John Manganaro and Ken Braun walked through a bit later, saying they had been outside directing traffic, wanting to stay out of people's way. They commented that things were starting up "amazingly well". Many teachers greeted them warmly and John explained to the field worker that several of them had been his students when he taught in Westgate.

Thus the first day at School 2, while difficult in many ways, was <u>not</u> "chaos": teachers sorted children out, welcomed them warmly, and set the stage for what would follow.

The first day in School No. 3 was easier. Unlike School 2, which had doubled in numbers of teachers and students, it had grown only about 25%. And the new pods covered only the first four grades; the kindergarten, 5th and 6th grades were in the familiar old building to which the pods were an addition. Even though much outside construction was still under way, and some special rooms were not finished, things felt more complete.

The field worker visited the school later in the day, so the confusion and worry of arrival was over. A few parents were sitting casually in George Rieger's office; he introduced them half-jokingly as "the PTA women". Down the hall in the new mini-theater, which was substituting for the moment as an art room, children were sprawled around on the carpeted steps absorbed in their drawing. In the new pods on the third floor, Bonnie Fabrizi's fourth-grade students were busily at work. John Manganaro, who with George Rieger was walking around with the field worker, explained that she had been one of the few who volunteered to come to the school. Bonnie came over and said to George, "Isn't it beautiful? I'm <u>so</u> glad I came here." Across the pod was Helene Pribylski, explaining something to a small group of students. George commented:

> She did not volunteer, she was assigned. She said to me, "I don't want to work here. I've heard you are a dictator." We talked, and we worked a lot of things out, and now she's happy she's here.

Helene left the students to talk to the visitors (she too was a student of John's) and indeed did comment not only that the school was beautiful but that she was happy to be here. George seemed pleased with her testimony (and in fact repeated the "dictator" story on at least three different occasions to researchers later).

Not everyone was happy. Ruth Sefero, working in the first grade pod, said to Bob Quinn, the supervisor of buildings and grounds who was wandering through the building, "When are the partitions going up? This noise has just got to stop." George said she had already made it plain to him that she didn't want to team-teach and didn't like the whole set-up. Both he and John chuckled, as if her objections did not need to be taken seriously, or in any event would get worked out as things proceeded.

On balance, things seemed to be going smoothly. In the old part of the building, Kathy Keaton seemed relaxed with her kindergarteners; when a contractor poked his head in and asked if he could work on the electrical wiring, she said easily, "The students are getting dismissed at 11:30 anyway, but if you really need to, come on in." As Ken Braun remarked:

> The kids really didn't seem to notice the new school too much. To them it's just coming to school. It's the parents who made the comments.

To the field worker, the first day here seemed "amazingly well-ordered.. it looks like they had been settled in at least a week". Though there were complaints, most teachers were coping well and acting optimistically. So the first day in School 3 went, if anything, more easily than the start in School 2.

Problems faced in both schools. During the first months of their existence, both schools had outside (and some inside) construction going on. The construction work was not only noisy, but meant that pods were more crowded, some classes had to be in temporary quarters, and specialists such as art, music or reading teachers could not work regularly with children. This in turn meant that pod teachers had no freed-up time for planning. Outside play areas were not available in either school for many weeks, a real problem for restless elementary-age children.

For at least a month, essential supplies and materials were lacking: for example, reading books did not arrive in School 2 until September 27, and supplies arrived that day without any cabinets to store them in. Both schools opened without the complete complement of

furniture, so that teachers and students were in some cases working in the large spaces of the pods with nothing to define or mark off the teaching spaces from each other. When bookcases and storage cabinets did become available, they were put into place, but teachers felt there was too much furniture, and that the pod space was much too small and crowded.*

In the pods, teachers (almost all of whom had previously worked only in self-contained classrooms) were faced with much more noise than they had ever been used to. There was not only the construction noise, but the interference of music or PE classes which had to be held in inappropriate spaces -- and most centrally, the "noise" of other teachers talking to their classes -- or naturally sometimes yelling at them -- and other students "noisily" going about their business. As George Rieger pointed out, "There are really six teachers in a pod, not three. Angelino led us down the garden path."[14] Teachers found themselves either talking more loudly to be heard over the others' noise, thus escalating noise further, or uncomfortably inhibiting themselves: one teacher wanted to play a record a child had brought in but didn't because it would disturb the other classes, and another said:

> I want to sing a song and I suddenly realize that there are all of these other people -- classes and teachers who would be watching me make a fool of myself.... I don't feel free to do that kind of thing any more.

The concerns about noise were strong and pervasive through the first months of life in both schools.

Finally, it was a fact of life in both schools that most teachers felt almost completely unprepared for team teaching, had little idea of what would be involved -- and did not believe the principals, Ken or John had had a realistic idea either.

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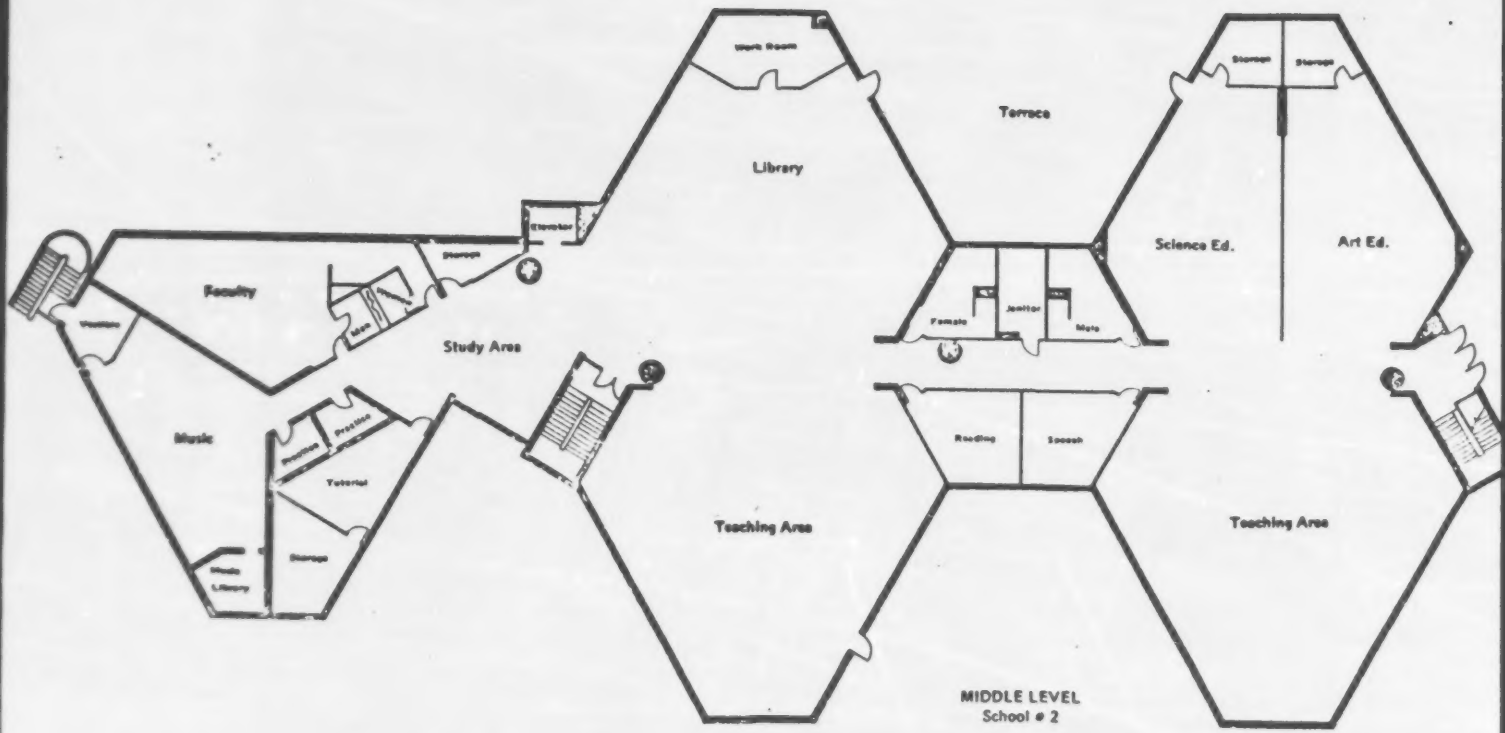
* After reading this, Ed Pallacino pointed out that the actual square footage per teacher was no different than in the old self-contained classrooms. Perhaps it was thus "psychological crowding" because of noise problems. Still, at different times, Ken Braun, outside consultants, and the teachers all mentioned crowdedness.

14) The pods had been called "pentagons"; they were in fact lopsidedly hexagonal, with one open side. Each pair of pods, with an open hallway between, formed one large open space. See floor plan for middle level, School 2, next page.



MIDDLE LEVEL
School # 2

The staffs. A brief summary of just who formed the faculty of each school may be useful here.

	School No. 2	School No. 3
Total staff*	46	41
Number new to school	11	5
Female	82%	82%
Tenured	67%	67%
Median years in education	7	6
Median years in district	6-10	3-5
Median age	35-39	30-34
Grade level teachers	17	16
Number new to school	8	4
Number with past experience in open education	9	2
Percentage female	94%	94%

* Because of pregnancy leaves and replacements, these figures are inflated by 2 or 3 over those working in the school at any given point. The total includes grade-level teachers, special and supplemental teachers, student teachers, and others including nurse, secretary, guidance and psychologist.

The main differences of importance are seen most clearly among grade-level teachers, those who would be the primary implementers of the Westgate hopes for open-space education. At School 2, nearly half of them were new to the school (and to the principal), had been transferred in; at School 3 only a quarter were newcomers.[15] However, more School 2 grade level teachers had had some prior experience with open education, based on our early interviews with them. Seen as a whole, the staffs differ little, except that School 3 staff members are slightly younger, and newer to the district. But, in general, the two faculties were composed of women in their mid-thirties, moderately experienced in education. The majority were tenured in the district.

The district context. The new schools existed in a context which was steadily demanding and occasionally turbulent. During September, it appeared there might be a teacher strike; by the end of the month it had turned into a more modest "job action", but the administrators had

15) Recall that the building was completely new for all School No. 2. At School 3, 14 staff were working in the new part of the building. This included 10 of the 16 grade-level teachers.

had to spend a great deal of time planning strategies for covering the schools in case the strike materialized. The Westgate district was also engaged in the first stages of a state-mandated goal-setting and program analysis scheme which engaged a large portion of Ken and John's time, some of the principals', and increasingly that of teachers. Westgate procedures also dictated that at least half of all tenured teachers should be observed and evaluated this school year by their principals, another time-consuming task. Paradoxically enough, both the goal-setting work and the teacher evaluation might have been approached in a way that furthered the implementation of hopes for Schools 2 and 3, but they were persistently treated as separate tasks. For example, George Rieger said in a faculty meeting that he did not want to evaluate the first grade pod and asked for other volunteers. They came from non-pod teachers and specialists; thus the chance for support to people teaching in open space was blocked by reluctance to evaluate and be evaluated.* And by mid-December Ed Pallacino picked the second, third and kindergarten pods for evaluation -- because, he explained afterward, those teachers had more personal security (based on prior acquaintance with him or each other), not, we note, because the evaluation could be useful to them. It also seemed true that the evaluation routine and the goal-setting scheme were treated as priorities -- while the problems of newness in the two schools, though repeatedly acknowledged, took second (or usually third or fourth) place.

Finally, there was the usual fiscal anxiety: by December acute budget cuts were looming again. To make things worse, the Board was acting in its usual Westgate manner. An administrator said:

> It's like two armed camps. The nieces and nephews of Board members are in the running for jobs. The antagonisms are the worst I've ever seen. We've got to be careful not to get caught in the middle. The lines are drawn and the swords are drawn.

So there were many things on the administrators' minds besides implementation of two new schools. That may help explain to some extent what seemed like puzzling behavior. But only partly.

Curiously, though John and Ken visited the schools quite regularly at first (daily, Ken said),** by mid-November there seemed only to be rare contact; John suggested references on open education for a couple of teachers. Ken said things were "hectic" and he could not go. And

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* After reading this account, George Rieger said it was wrong, but did not elaborate.

** George Rieger's recollection is that his school was only visited three times.

early in the fall Ken sent several memos to teachers. One teacher recalled:

> They were little notes on things like you should team more, you should integrate your reading program with the other teachers more.... I file them in the wastebasket.

Like the visits, the memos stopped coming. But this did not mean that Ken and John thought things were satisfactory. As early as late September, John said to a researcher:

> Most of them are sticking with the familiar, 25 kids to one teacher. They are giving lip service to the idea that they should be teaming, but little of it seems to be happening. We have to provide support and in-service assistance so they can move toward more open education without losing control.... We said we wouldn't force the changes on anyone [sic] and so they are seizing the option. They need help both on the fundamental concept and the nitty-gritty details.

But, he admitted, "We don't even have a plan for how we'll plan it right now". The most they had considered was bringing in Jane Orenstein to work with two of the teams who seemed to be having special problems. But this never materialized. George and Ed resisted the idea and thought that bringing in experienced open-space teachers as consultants would be more effective. As we shall see, one such visit was made to the first and seond grade teams in George's school on December 2.

Another possible mechanism for aiding implementation was, of course, the administrative "rap session", where issues could be discussed and solutions proposed. But, surprisingly, only two such meetings were held in the entire period before Christmas. One on October 15 did discuss the need for in-service work in some detail. The second, on December 15, discussed consulting assistance and in-service, but was largely devoted to other matters, from teacher recruitment to test scores.

In early December, Ken said the basic problem was still there:

> The teachers say yes to the general idea, agree that you shouldn't hold kids back or shove them beyond their capabilities, but...it's far easier to compartmentalize all kids into one batch and deal with the same material for everyone. [Teachers are] saying "There's got to be a better way", but they really don't know how to do it, therefore they do it the old way.

But in spite of this diagnosis, Ken went on:

> I said to John just the other day, "Gosh, we still haven't had an opportunity to plan the in-service program." ... I'm feeling frustrated. If I could only get out from under the state department paper [I could work on the problem].

The "paper", however, seemed not to be the only reason for lack of implementation support from Ken and John.

One possibility was that a few parents had begun by early November to relay complaints to Board members. Though the open school nights in both schools had gone smoothly and Ken saw the situation as a "honeymoon.... no active parent resistance", parent concerns might well rise. His general view at that point was that things were going "adequately" in the schools, and that "No. 2 was a hundred times quieter than before" and "teachers have learned to live with the noise". Pushing teachers to implement the effort more fully might generate more community opposition.

A second factor centered more on the relationships between Ken and John on the one hand, and George and Ed on the other. As John said:

> This is not atypical of school districts. There is a gap between central office people and principals, especially where central office is curriculum-oriented. Principals are coming from a different place.. they are managerially oriented.
>
> We'll have to go slowly. Sometimes I get exasperated, other times.. well, it's better just to consolidate our gains, and make sure things don't blow up.

Both central office administrators seemed to feel worried about how the implementation would proceed. For School No. 2, their concern seemed to be that the task was "too much too soon", and that Ed, though he was strong on accomplishing specific managerial tasks, would not be able to aid teachers sufficiently. They did expect that Ed would not stand in the way if teachers began doing more teaming (unless parents were to get upset); teachers transferring to School No. 2 had been told by the others, "Don't worry: he'll let you do what you want." But would this laissez-faire approach work? Ken hoped to raise the issue of needed in-service work in the curriculum council (with representatives from all grades and schools); if teachers in School 2 could "have their conceptualization raised", then their team development might proceed well. Even though (as we have seen earlier) Ed was not very committed to the idea of "open education", he very much wanted a good working climate in his school. So perhaps things would go well.

For School 3 the problems seemed different. The two central office

people seemed to see George Rieger's leadership as considerably more active and aggressive, often paternalistic. But they were quite unsure whether he had really "bought in" to the open education idea (a perception that our questionnaire data tended to support), and thought he might be more oriented to short-run issues, such as community acceptance. One had the sense that they felt George was not easy to "help", would say "I already know that" when faced with a suggestion. Their apparent expectation of George's anticipated resistance may explain why they did not do more to support teachers. But though they seemed to see Ed as more tolerant of "help", they seemed almost as hesitant there. The field worker noted:

> There is a kind of "walking on eggs" feeling. Somehow they didn't seem to feel they could intervene very directly or helpfully at the school level to help the program move.

By late September, John said in response to a field worker's question that he would be satisfied if by April or May:

> Half of the teams [would] show some progress or movement in terms of participating in in-service. having some desire to move, had begun to try out the idea of learning centers, were doing more individualization, were posing more inquiries on how to do things better.

These more-modest expectations (recall that John had earlier stressed the importance of individualization, flexible grouping, and increased teaming as the core aspects of the vision) suggested some reduction in hopes. By mid-December John said at the rap session that "what we're doing is really no different than last year", a view which Ken also expressed: "We don't have that much open concept going, we haven't moved away from the center -- that is why we haven't gotten any real flak". Yet they did not project a clear view that this state of affairs was undesirable, and when Ken was asked about this time by a researcher what his definition of "open education" was, he said:

> An administrative approach to foster cooperative teaching, aimed at increasing individualization and facilitated by open space. Individualization means a youngster working at his own speed, progressing in all areas.

Thus it seemed that the two central office administrators' earlier vision of the new schools as settings where student goal-setting and influence would be high, and where self-esteem would grow were being succeeded by more limited goals, given the distance between them and the principals, and the administrators' sense that they could not (or perhaps should not) intervene actively in the implementation process. The spectre of community complaint (a worry they seemed to share, but

attributed disparagingly to both principals) seemed to play a part as well. But the relation to Ed and George seemed more central.

With this review of the context complete, we turn to the course of events in the schools. For simplicity, we follow things first in School 2, then in No. 3, before commentary and analysis.

School No. 2. In spite of the problems we have noted above, which were if anything more pronounced than in School 3, teachers seemed to begin coping fairly well. A field worker on the third day of school noted:

> If you walk around and look and get the feeling of the school, it feels very good, loose, and the teachers seem comfortable. But when you speak to them... [many] seem very bothered by the open space.

Given the severe problems of the unfinished physical facilities, Ed Pallacino seemed to be primarily preoccupied with construction, furniture arrival, and door locks. He explained to a field worker in the second week of school:

> It's really not open. We'll move into more of the teachers working together later on, have more interaction among teachers.

When he was asked what he planned to do to facilitate that, he indicated his non-interventionist stance very clearly:

> It will evolve. Teachers may find out they can conserve time if they do things together. I don't want to push them. We told them we wouldn't push. I don't intend to have large faculty meetings. It's kind of ridiculous unless I have an administrative announcement, and I can do that over the PA.*

He acknowledged that many teachers were staying late after school to plan, and said the teams were "adjusting. They'll do the job." And he pointed out that the fourth-grade team, Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Viaggio, had already "come together".

It was in fact true that as soon as the third day of school the two fourth-grade teachers were working jointly: a field worker noted Mrs. Mann giving instructions to the entire group of 4th graders while Mrs. Viaggio moved around giving one-to-one help. Mrs. Mann had experimented actively with open education methods at School No. 1 the

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* After reading this, Ed Pallacino explained that the strategy of "not pushing" came from "above" (the central office). He also noted that consultants had advised "going slow".

previous year, and had volunteered to come to No. 2; Mrs. Viaggio, a more traditional teacher, had taught next door to her at No. 1 and began "running next door to Nadine any time I needed help"; she too volunteered to come. Nadine's interest and Jeanne's willingness to learn from her bore fruit; within a month from the opening of School No. 2, they had a regular planning time (Thursdays), a weekly assignment sheet and detailed record-keeping system that let students keep track of their own progress, and were using a student teacher actively. They said:

> It's nice to have someone to talk with and work things out with. We hope we never move out of here. Even with all the extra work it's worth it.

So past experience, interest, and mutual support combined to make early implementation vigorous for this team.

But in the fifth-grade pod, the early indications were quite different. Though Mary Hahn and Barbara Canetto seemed to be working with each other's classes from time to time, Adele Hoffster felt by the end of the first week that she was almost ready to quit.

> It's been an unguided week. We weren't trained. We should have had a year of preparation. The noise level is terrible.... One way or another it will have to become self-contained. When parents come in they'll go nuts.*

And within less than a month, Ed said to a researcher that Mrs. Hoffster felt left out of the work the other two were doing -- while they in turn felt she was not pulling her weight in what Mary Hahn pointed out was a difficult task:

> You have to learn a whole new style of teaching. Three people can't be lecturing at once. It's still very hard. Individualization takes a lot of work and without books and supplies it's even harder.

Other teams varied between these extremes. For example, Sally Soames, in the second grade pod, said that she'd almost "had a nervous breakdown" at the start, but that things were getting much better. She and Maria Hohning and Helen Kazantzakis were setting up math and social studies learning centers, and were sharing the teaching of reading among themselves across the three classes. "I really like

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* Ed Pallacino noted after reading this that Mrs. Hoffster had attended few of the training sessions, and that he had expected she would have problems.

picking two other teachers' brains", she said. On the other hand, Janne Schweiz, in the third grade, thought she would "go crazy at the beginning..it couldn't be worse". By the end of the first month she said she had "learned to tune out the noise" and had started to come to terms with the student teacher, who was also uncomfortable with open space. She and the other 3rd grade teachers were beginning to team for reading, but were agreeing to proceed very gradually and slowly.

Generally, the sense of the school noted by one field worker after the first month was:

> The school has settled down quite a bit, a lot has relaxed. Teachers start out by saying that everything is much better.. but then after 10-15 minutes they start complaining again [about] how planning was done, the lack of supplies and materials. What has changed is that the teachers seem to have made a commitment to try to work it out in some way.

But implementation was still very incomplete. A new field worker, experienced in looking at open education programs, noted:

> There seems to be less individualization and less creative approaches to individualization here than I'm used to seeing. There is less interaction between teachers. The noise level, rather than high, seems low.

Part of the problem was scheduling: it was rare for all teachers in a pod to have planning time together during the day, and a field worker noted on October 26 that "teachers seem to regard their preparation period as free time rather than team "time". Ed Pallacino confirmed that most teachers "except those who can't get their work done" left the building promptly at 3:00. And a student teacher remarked that between 2:30 and 3:00 after children had left, most teachers simply did individual work. (Ed had made a scheduling proposal that would give each pod 45 minutes to plan, three times a week, and invited teachers to revise it until it looked right: a subgroup did so and it was put in place - but only partially - in late September, hampered by lack of space for special teachers.)

Though as one teacher noted, "Mr. Pallacino tries. It's OK to tell him complaints", his direct support of teachers was not large. No general faculty meetings were held, since, he said:

> I have had no time to eat lunch, there is so much to be done. I have talked to teachers individually and they feel better off alone. If they have problems they come down [to the office].... They have organized reading groups and other types of groups, so they must be getting together somehow.

He reported some tension between the idea of his going to pod meetings as vs. giving the teachers enough time to work on their own, but seems basically to have resolved this dilemma in favor of his absence.*

Though the rap session discussed the need for in-service education on October 15, and Ed said he might like Jane Orenstein to help with the problems of the fifth-grade team, he took no action on either possibility.** Ed's seeming lack of support for the teachers stood in some contrast to the fact that he and George Rieger frequently sought support from each other through phone calls and direct contacts; for example, on September 27 they discussed matters varying from noise problems, furniture, the impending strike, evaluation of teachers, and the idea of visiting other open-space schools.

Ed did take care to protect the new school from adverse comment by parents. At Back to School Night on October 20, because there was no large meeting space completed, the program had no central meeting: the evening stayed decentralized with parents meeting with their children's teachers.*** And on November 22 he scheduled Dr. Angelino to come and give a presentation on open space education to the parents. Fifty parents and a handful of teachers went; one said afterward, "It was nothing but nothing". Angelino spent an hour discussing the history of open space education, said research showed that children could learn with the noise, accepted one question, and closed the session.

Ed pointed out to the teachers that he was holding no general faculty meeting in November, and that they were therefore free to come to the PTA meeting that month. (As always, PTA attendance was not mandatory.) But only four teachers did so -- all of them relatively favorable to open education. It seems likely that those with reservations, or who were having implementation difficulties, were reluctant to face potentially critical parents.

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* After reading this, Ed elaborated on his view that large faculty meetings were not a useful support method. He also said that he had met with each pod once during the first month, that he walked through the building daily, and often asked individuals at the day's end how things had been going. However, it was rare for him to spend "in-depth" time (15-20 minutes) with an individual teacher, he said.

** His understanding, he said afterward, was that she would contact <u>him</u>.

*** Ed explained after reading this that he would have preferred the "standard" Back to School Night format, with a brief general-session welcome, followed by decentralized classroom discussions. Decentralized meetings make sense, since parents usually want to know specifically what their children's classroom environments are like. But such meetings also serve to localize complaints; a large meeting can permit the expression of complaints for all to hear.

In fact, parents varied considerably in their views during early implementation: interviews surfaced reactions including worries about the "unstructuredness" of open education along with surprise at their children's good performance, concerns about noise, regrets at missing the intimate, old-fashioned quality of the previous school, genuine pleasure with what some teachers were doing, doubts about traditional teachers' ability to change, criticisms of the architecture, and comments that Westgate was far behind other districts in its educational program.

Though we have emphasized the work of regular classroom teachers, it is important to note that problems of implementation were not limited to them. By late October, the college supervisor of the six student teachers told a field worker that most of them felt unprepared for and threatened by the open space setting, and unable to learn well from their experience: it was especially stressful when they were asked to work with all three teachers in a pod rather than closely with one. And in late November, though the teaching rooms for specialists had finally been readied, the special teachers were not happy, complaining about working in open space, the lack of supplies, and noise. And in early December, Jan Artay, the school psychologist, reported that though he had had experience in setting up open education programs, and wanted to be a helpful resource to teachers and Mr. Pallacino, and had protected time in his schedule for consulting, he was not being invited to help.

In November and December, in spite of occasionally expressed views that things were "better", "smoothed down", and so on, it seemed clear that many teachers were under a good deal of stress. Jane Costanza, the school nurse, reported:

> Medically the teachers are a wreck. There are more back aches, stomach aches and hives here than in any other school in the district. Some teachers are taking tranquilizers before they come in the morning.

And although Ms. Costanza at first thought children were adjusting better than teachers, she found after consulting her records that children's complaints of stomach aches, headaches, eye strain and "other vague symptoms" were very frequent. Instead of an expected 30 or so visits a month, she noted 88 referrals in two September weeks, 162 in October and 155 in November. She also noted that the fewest referrals came from the sixth grade, which involved only one teacher, Angela Fiori, with past experience with open education. It seemed likely that the stress experienced by many teachers in building a coherent, stable open-space program with minimal support or training, and that felt by people in associated roles, was diffusing to children as well.

Some examples of stressed teachers may be useful. Though Barbara Canetto liked the new building, she found the work "mind-boggling" and

went home with headaches nightly. Her team partner Mary Hahn, complaining of a bad neck ache, explained:

> It's been tremendously noisy today..... It really doesn't work for children to be on their own all the time. [But] you really aren't supposed to stand in the front of the room...you aren't supposed to write on the blackboards. All the children should be busy doing their own thing. It really would be great if I had 40 hands, but there is no way to get it all done.

She went on to explain that she and Barbara were dividing labor (one doing English, the other social studies) but that "at the end of the day what with the bus and getting the kids out we never really get together to meet". She said there had been no teacher meetings, but that she very much wished for some, and for the opportunity to visit an open-space school.

Adele Hoffster, the third member of this team, said she felt not a part of her own pod, that the others had misinterpreted her as not wanting to team, and had pushed the lowest reading group on to her and appropriated the student teacher. She disliked the noise and cramped space, and resented the fact "the program is being left to the teachers, and there is no guidance or supervision".16)

In the third grade, Marian Richman (the only other teacher who had volunteered to transfer into School No. 2) felt stressed for somewhat different reasons. In early November, she said:

> I love the new set-up, but I'm not teaching the way I want to. There's too much work individualizing the program. I work every night for three or four hours. At this point there are 13 different math levels in my class.....I spent $300 of my own money on materials since September and there still aren't enough.

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16) Mrs. Hoffster, a field worker's notes show, had by mid-December asked for help from Ed Pallacino, Jan Artay, Ken Braun and Sandra Hartmann, but felt she had gotten help only from the latter.* Ed's view, expressed in a December 15 rap session, was that "the problem" in the 5th grade pod had been solved, and that Mrs. Hoffster was doing "perfectly well within her own sector". Even so, his tendency was to propose transferring her away from the pod for next year. In any case, it was still clear by January that Mrs. Hoffster "needed all the support I can get", as she said to a field worker.

* Ed said after reading this that he had spent "many hours" with Mrs. Hoffster, and separately with her two teammates. But these sessions he thought, were unsuccessful in reducing the climate of blame in the team; they continued to be at odds with each other.

She too reported problems in developing team planning with the others:

> When we first met it seemed as if things would work out perfectly. I wanted to take science, Janne social studies, and Rita would do English. But it didn't work out that way they didn't want to individualize the whole program at once. Our team meets only rarely.... The way things are set up now the situation is really impossible. I have to plan for three reading groups, and my individualized math groups, plus all the other activities.

And like others she wanted help, wishing for district-wide grade-level meetings,* help from Mr. Pallacino, advice from administrators. But none was forthcoming, and she sought and got assistance from Helene Pribylski, a third grade teacher in School No. 3.

The late-fall picture for many teachers was that the combined problems of developing a more-individualized program, and developing team plans and cohesiveness, and coping with the unaccustomed space, and the lack of materials made for a good deal of tension -- even for teachers who were committed to implementation. Few formal support mechanisms existed. No in-service program was contemplated "until spring", Ed said. When at a December 15 rap session George Rieger explained how helpful a visit of an experienced open-space teacher had been to his first and second grade groups, Ed acceded to the idea of using such consultants too, but they did not materialize. By early December he was beginning to have occasional meetings with pod teams "if there are problems, but I don't take all their time -- it's against the contract".

Not all teachers experienced heavy stress. In the second grade, Sally Soames reported in early November:

> I have much less negative feelings. Things are really much better now. Everyone [in our team] can share ideas and pick each others' brains. We really feel comfortable and we really work.

And it did not seem that the three first-grade teachers, or Angela Fiori, working alone in the sixth grade, were experiencing stress. And quite surprisingly, reports of "it's going better, smoother" began increasing from other grades as Christmas neared.

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* Ken Braun's added comment here is:

> Central office, like Marian Richman, also favored grade level meetings but terms of the written contract with the teachers made this virtually prohibitive.

Field workers' views so far had been that teachers were coping with the stress of implementation without, by and large, very much formal support. Perhaps informal supports were beginning to develop? A careful look suggested that this was the case.

On December 21, the new teachers' room opened; a visit there the next day found nearly all the regular teachers sharing some lasagna, joking and laughing while aides supervised the children's lunch in the pods. Even though particular teams might be having coordination or cohesiveness problems, it was beginning to look as if the faculty in general had come toward the sort of climate Ed Pallacino had hoped for.

There were several other informal supports in evidence. First, it seemed clear from a visit that day to Joseph Krupcik's media center that it was supportive in several ways. His job specified that he should, on Monday through Thursday, take whole classes. But he also sometimes took students who had free time, thus further easing life for teachers. Second, "media day" on Friday was set up to enable children with special interests in reading, photography and videotape to follow them. Third, the center's procedures were designed to maximize student initiative and individualization, and were supportive of teachers' efforts along these lines.

A second general support appeared in the person of Sandra Hartmann, the guidance counselor. In an interview in early January, the field worker learned that although much of her time had been devoted to work with individual children, some referred by teachers and many self-referred, Ms. Hartmann provided many other support functions as well. Parents often went directly to her, before Ed Pallacino. She taught sample classroom lessons on affective issues (ex: a puppet activity on name-calling and making friends). She had had teaching experience, was familiar with open education ideas, and worked hard to develop rapport with teachers: they occasionally came in to talk and get suggestions. She sat in, if requested, during teacher conferences with parents. All in all, even though she was not at the school every day, she did provide support functions which had been less visible to the field worker.[17]

Finally there was some evidence that teachers engaged in fuller implementation were providing informal support; this seemed to be true

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17) Perhaps it is indicative that another field worker, meeting Ms. Hartmann during the bustle of the first day of school, took her for an assistant principal. This seemed trivial at the time, but has meaning in retrospect.

for the Mann-Viaggio fourth grade team, and for Angela Fiori, who occasionally gave advice and ideas to other interested teachers.*

Just how far had the different pods come in the degree to which they (a) planned their program and carried it out cooperatively; (b) were responsive to individual differences in children's learning needs and rates?18) The brief comments below summarize the views of the field worker, along with those of the school psychologist and the guidance counselor, each of whom had reasonable opportunity to talk to teachers and observe what was happening. Nevertheless, their contacts were incomplete -- and those of the field worker very intermittent -- so these characterizations are quite rough and impressionistic.

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* The field worker's view was that these supports had developed "naturally". Ed Pallacino's view, after reading this, was that they had developed through his initiation. He saw Sandra Hartmann as having useful ideas (she had initiated a visit with him to an innovative open-space school in the city) and said he had asked her to work with teachers as a part of her job; he set up Krupcik's job similarly, he explained. He also recalled having encouraged teachers to seek out Angela Fiori with their questions. In brief, Ed's view was that he had deliberately tried to create a support system, with some success.

Naturally, no principal likes to be depicted as not supplying support and leadership, so Ed's retrospective comments may overemphasize his part in the development of these informal supports. Still, the view that they developed without his knowledge or encouragement does not seem a valid one.

18) We might note in passing that Westgate uniformity norms were not strongly supportive of thorough individualization. On October 12, for example, the following notice appeared in teachers' mailboxes:

> We are reading on a levels program. Make sure you cover every aspect of the program at the different levels. Some of you are advancing too rapidly. The child will read ahead, but much of the material will be too sophisticated for him to comprehend. This is especially true of grades three through five. Perhaps one grade level beyond his grade could be warranted, but not two.

And in December Ed Pallacino, who was cataloguing all the books and materials being used so parents and teachers could see exactly what each class was doing, emphasized to a field worker that "some teachers follow the curriculum guides and some don't". He felt very strongly that teachers should.

Both Artay and Hartmann felt optimistic: "The atmosphere is changing, and things are getting better"... "The program is very exciting: teachers are slowly becoming aware of what they can do." Both emphasized the fact that implementation was partial; Artay felt the program might be missing the needs of more than a few children at this point.

In general, it appeared by the turn of the year that the fourth grade pod (Mann and Viaggio) were planning together closely and running a well-individualized program. The second grade pod (Kazantzakis, Soames and Hohning) seemed to be sharing planning and working well. The student teacher there was one of the few who liked open education; he shared in team planning and worked actively with all three teachers. And in the first grade "the imaginary walls are down", as Sandra Hartmann put it: Sandy Mikva's active leadership, past relationship with Joan Ratner and her experience with an individualized open classroom at School No. 1 served the team well. Angela Fiori's sixth-grade pod was "running beautifully", according to Artay.

The two kindergarten classes (Gerry Parsons and Josephine Hartz) were essentially being run independently, though they shared music and story time. The teaching approaches seemed to the field worker like "traditional kindergarten", with moderate individualization.

In the third grade pod (Richman, Schweiz and Bonomi), there seemed to be less joint planning, with the classes mainly separate except for reading. As we have seen, Richman felt frustrated, wanting much more collaboration than was achieved;[19] she also appeared to be individualizing more than the other two. The student teacher was "a burden", one teacher said, though the one who had her was satisfied.

Finally, the fifth grade pod (Hahn, Canetto and Hoffster) continued to have collaboration problems, with Mrs. Hoffster feeling isolated and excluded from the other two, who were doing some joint planning (dividing the teaching of language arts and social studies), but felt unable to connect with her.

So, in general, in School No. 2 there seemed to be the beginnings of implementation of teaming and individualization in three pods, and problems or quite partial implementation in three. Stress and tension, which had been quite marked, were beginning to decrease, for reasons not wholly clear.

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19) Here as in the fifth grade pod we see the consequence of composing pod teams to include a range of preferred teaching styles. Though Marian Richman and Janne Schweiz were inclined to work together, Rita Bonomi's teaching style was more traditional, and she did not favor teaming particularly.

School No. 3. Although the teachers in School 3 faced many of the same problems as those in School 2 -- unfinished space inside and out, lack of materials, missing furniture, lack of training, little planning time, noise -- the stresses were not so extreme. For one thing, only a quarter of the faculty were new to the building and the principal; for another, nearly half of the regular grade-level teachers were working in the old, familiar part of the building rather than in the new pod spaces. The situation was more that of an add-on innovation than the more comprehensive newness faced at School No. 2.

But life was certainly not simple. When a field worker talked with George Rieger a week after school opened, he said:

> It's been pretty smooth, hysterical sometimes. We've had a terrible time finding books, nobody knows where anything is. I'm not going to start scheduling anything [like faculty meetings] until I feel my eyes are open. The past week and a half has been so chaotic I can't think of anything else right now. I'm still living out of boxes.

Still, like Ed, he expressed confidence in his teachers: "They'll make it work. They could make anything work."

During that first week, as in School 2, it was already clear that teachers ranged considerably in how they felt about open space and teaming. Carole Duberman told a field worker that she really liked the space, "it feels good". Her second-grade teammate Maria Stazzone was lecturing to her children in one large group, but came over in a minute to explain, somewhat apologetically, that they were going to do a good deal of small group work in the pod after the first week's "orientation". George Rieger noted that this team among others was staying each day until 4:30 or later for planning. Bonnie Fabrizi, in the fourth grade, working separately with her own class, said she didn't mind the confusion -- it was temporary. She had visited a neighboring open-space school, and was eager to visit more. Besides, she saw herself as innovative and flexible. Her pod-mate Florence Matlow was more dubious.

> I feel like I've come full circle back to when I started teaching, in a three-room school house. I have a problem class, and I'm not sure whether it's them or the open space. They're hard to control. [The set-up] may work, and it may not work, but if it doesn't we'll have to admit it's not working and go back to a different method.

The field worker noted:

> She seemed willing, more than reluctantly, to give the innovation a chance -- but she was very unsure of it. I found this to be a rather typical

> tone both here and in School 2. No one really knew what was going to happen, no one was really confident, but most were willing to try.

At the same time, she noted that many teachers had expressed indirect reservations, by saying (perhaps projectively) that the children were very slow to accept change, and were reluctant for things to be different.

Ruth Sefero in the first grade seemed to be one who had strong and direct reservations:

> I'm not going to smile about this, I'm going to be honest. I think it's a disaster. They had no idea what they were doing when they did this, and I don't know how long it's going to take them to admit it's a disaster. The noise and the distraction are impossible, especially for first graders -- I think it's a mess. I'm way behind where I normally am at this time of year, and I know, because I've taught first grade for ten years.
>
> The Board members come in here and it looks beautiful, and they think everything is working terrifically, but I can't stand it. I can't wait until they put up some partitions.

Even so, the field worker noted, Ruth had already given some friendly suggestions to her teammate Marie Calisi, who was teaching first grade for the first time. And George Rieger, who had pointedly explained to Ruth that she should "feel free to be open" with the field worker, acknowledged:

> She's been a complainer and a resister right from the beginning, but she's a good teacher, and she really feels she has the right to do it her way. I've learned that you can't push people on these kinds of things. I just hope that she will come around at some point and be more comfortable. I don't believe that everyone should necessarily accept my point of view or the way I do things.

Buy George's style was not as relaxed as this quote suggests, and certainly not as hands-off as that of his compatriot Ed Pallacino. He said "it's a shame... when one teacher starts to complain, it spreads", and a week later, said to the field worker:

> This week, if another job had been open, I would have taken it. It's a gripe factory. The gripes continued until I got annoyed. As long as I listened, they continued.

The "gripes" may have been partly stimulated by the then-current "job action"; they seemed mainly to be about noise from construction and other teachers' pods, and the lack of furniture ("no security blanket", George said). His impatience communicated to teachers: as the field workers got to know teachers better, more than one expressed worry about whether their critical comments might get back to George -- "Every time we complain, things get nasty with him." This mistrust and uncertainty about communication was a recurrent theme, though not in the entire faculty. It sometimes led the field worker to feel that accounts of situations were "Rashomon-like".[20] For example, George cited with apparent pride the fact that some teachers were working until "5 or 6 P.M."; during the same time period, several of these same teachers said they resented doing so.

As Ken and John had pointed out, George was an active problem-solver. As early as mid-September he was already planning a visit to an open-space school in nearby Hardenburgh, setting the requirement that teams could go if they wished, but not separate individuals. His first letter to parents on September 13 covered eleven different items ranging from parking, the time schedule and dismissal procedures to behavior on the bus; it established very clearly that there were rules to be followed, and that George was on top of a wide range of details affecting the smooth running of the school. By September 27 he had already managed a schedule that gave all teams two periods weekly for planning, had met at least once with each team, and had two short faculty meetings. He was concerned about the "three separate classes" in the first grade: after they went on the projected Hardenburgh school visit, he told a field worker, he would make a joint plan with them to support more teaming. If that failed, he would move Ruth Sefero to a self-contained space, encouraging Marie Calisi and Alice Scott to team, and if that failed he would move two of the three to the present self-contained 5th grade area. In another two weeks he had added the idea of bringing in an experienced open-space teacher to consult with the 1st-grade group. So, in striking contrast to Ed Pallacino, George believed that principals should intervene actively in the implementation process -- and did so.

George's commitments, however, seemed more aimed at problem-reduction than at actualization of the open-space vision as such; when asked what his hopes would be for the end of the year, he said:

> More understanding of each other [by teachers], and understanding that open space means they will not be making any radical changes in their teaching techniques. Some cross-grade grouping going on.

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20) As in the Japanese film Rashomon, where each of several witnesses to an event gives a radically different version.

With parents, too, George took a stance that stressed firm coping but minimized "innovation". The first PTA meeting, on September 22, was comfortable and relaxed. George said:

> I do raise my voice, I do reprimand children for not behaving. I do get upset when they break rules and regulations. Probably almost as upset as you do when you get upset... [but] when I chew a class out, I chew them all out.

He explained the current problems of missing books and furniture, and said:

> The hardest adjustment in a new school is not for the kids, but for you... Give us a chance. We hear stories about you too.

He went on:

> What should you expect to see in the classroom? Very traditional education, plus grouping and help to individual students. You cannot expect to see what you may have read about open education -- for example giving students [a free rein]. This is a team teaching school -- the same as we have had in [this neighborhood] for eight years.

And when a parent asked for a memo clarifying the different kinds of homework her children were bringing home, George said:

> You're not the teacher. Give it time. If your child is having a problem we'll tell you. Our teachers are not shy. We'll call you. But don't get overly concerned... [This is normal] for this time of the year.

Like Ed, George did everything he could to buffer the school from parent criticism. A newspaper reporter visited him about this time,[21] and after talking with him and Ken Braun produced a very favorable article. The lead read:

> Two new fluted block elementary schools in Westgate show how it's possible to go back to the basics -- without going backward.
>
> ..In one classroom, teacher Sharon Giotto is leading some dozen third graders through word games; the

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21) Ruth Sefero said later that George "wouldn't let the reporter near me".

> children are lounging alertly on a greenish gold carpet under dramatic, hexagonally-shaped lights. The "team's" other instructor, Helene Pribylski, is supervising about 30 of her charges in a hand-writing lesson in another area. Off under a third, sharply defined teaching station, about 18 students are quietly attacking their math books.
>
> ..In the next "pod", behind an improvised screen of portable book cases, fourth-graders are singing out their responses to a creative writing question.
>
> Above the buzz, a visitor says, "It feels a bit like a spaceship". "Yes", responds the proud principal, George Rieger, "It's like a spaceship going somewhere".

The article quotes Rieger later:

> "In some aspects, back to the basics is what open space is all about. After all, we're trying to work with the individual needs of kids. If you can work in small groups, children can ask their own questions, and you can fill in the basic building blocks. If you think about it, what we're trying to do really isn't so different than the one-room schoolhouse. What could be more basic?"

Though Rieger said later that the article "distorts" things, and had been a central office initiative, he could hardly have complained about the direct quotes, let alone such master strokes as "lounging alertly", and "quietly attacking their math books". At the Back to School Night on October 20, George, like Ed, kept the parents safely decentralized with their teachers. He had already said to a field worker:

> We've pretty much convinced them that we're not open education in the true sense of the word. That we're still doing things in the same way, only in different spaces. So they're happy.[22]

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22) Not all were: though the school had prided itself on keeping its older constituency (people owning single-family dwellings) happy, one such parent told a field worker a few days later that she "hated" open space education:

> I think it's a stupid way to educate children. My kid is in one upstairs, and when I went to parents' night I couldn't hear a word the teacher was saying. I think if you have a lazy kid he's never going to do anything.

(cont'd. next page)

Teachers in School No. 3 did not seem quite so stressed as those in School 2. Some teachers, of course, did not need to change their work patterns at all, since they were in self-contained space (the two kindergartens, the two 5th grade, two 6th grade and special education classes were separate, with a sliding screen and door between each pair). And a new field worker, seeing the school on October 15, noted:

> Things seem to be running nicely in every classroom I visited [kindergarten, 5th in the old section; 4th, 3rd and 1st in the new space]. There seems to be a perfectly acceptable level of noise in the pods.

At the same time, it was clear to the field worker that furniture had been used in many pods to create barriers between classes, that traditional seating patterns were present (for example, in Mrs. Ross' fifth grade), and that in spite of the reported team planning between Bonnie Fabrizi and Florence Matlow in the fourth grade "there was little in physical appearance that would distinguish this from a self-contained classroom". And even in cases where joint planning appeared to have gone on, there was sometimes evidence that the plan was simply uniformly administered to all three classes (a visit to the second grade about the time of Hallowe'en found all three classes coloring in the same dittoed owl drawing, and doing the same writing assignment on Dick and Jane's [sic] Hallowe'en party). So in many cases, it seemed, stress had been avoided by maintenance of, or reversion to, familiar teaching patterns.

The teachers working in the first grade pod seemed to be experiencing most difficulty. In late October, Marie Calisi, though she thought "things were falling into place" in the first grade, went right on to say:

> It's difficult for first graders, they have trouble understanding what is happening. The way the desks are arranged is a drawback.. It's also difficult with three different people, with different minds. We want the kids to work in small groups, but we don't have aides.

Her teammate Alice Scott said a little later:

> He'll get to the 8th grade in a closed school, and be behind in everything.

But such dissatisfactions did not seem to be widely shared; George's buffering strategies and his re-interpretation of "open education" in more conservative terms had apparently been successful.

> As soon as there is the least noise, the kids start running around...It's difficult to group first graders, everything has to be done at the same time [uniformly] if you are going to keep the noise down. You ought to be able to sit and talk to the kids [as in the enclosed kindergarten, she remarked]. I don't feel it will work for the first graders, it's not beneficial for them. I felt very positive about it in the beginning, but now it's not going well, my class has discipline problems.

Mrs. Scott liked the visit her team had made to a neighboring open-space school, but said the other school "had more space... [here] it's just too close together". When asked about her team's planning, she explained:

> One [of us] didn't want to plan so it just never came about. We kind of share things when we are doing the same materials, but we don't think or work as a group. You can have open ed without open space if you can switch kids around, but it isn't working at all.

And Ruth Sefero, the third member, said the team's outside visit was "useless -- they had more space, fewer kids, and they all have aides". When she was asked in early November whether consulting help had arrived, she said:

> He hasn't sent me any yet. He's been promising to send me one. I'm tired ot bugging him about it. I'll believe it when I see it.

So the first-grade situation, in spite of George's meeting with them, and the visit, seemed to be upsetting to all three teachers. As in School No. 2, intra-team problems of collaboration made the stresses of developing an individualized program in the open space even more difficult.

(A background comment). We might pause here to make a point that might be lost in our focus on what teachers were doing (or not doing) to utilize the open space creatively, to plan collaboratively with other teachers in their grade level groups, or to focus on children's diverse individual needs. It is that teachers, as Jackson (1968) has pointed out, are steadily involved in a very diverse, complicated and regularly demanding set of interactions with children, and keeping on top of that flow -- let alone "planning" for it -- takes a sort of energy that sometimes seems quite overwhelming to an observer.

Sometimes the flow is unpredictable. In a first grade class:

Substitute: (to field worker) We had a fire drill this morning, and the children came back a little wild.

Girl: [complains to substitute] She called me cocky head.

Second Girl: No I didn't, that Japanese boy said cocky head.

Boy: [laughing, teacher-like tone] Now, I want you children to sit down!

Substitute: It's time to go downstairs to lunch.

Even when the teacher is following a routine, individualizing takes care and energy. Here are successive notes on a child's mathematics folder in the 3rd grade:

Nice work, Nick. Try to finish by Wednesday, so you can go on to level three.

Nick, you must finish this by Wednesday.

Good work, Nick.

Sometimes there are simply logistical problems:

Teacher: (to field worker) Could you reach me down those turkeys? We need them next and I'm not tall enough.

Sometimes school routines intervene:

Teacher: We have the state-mandated Iowa tests all this week, and before that planning for Parents Night, and the curriculum has just gone down the drain.

Teacher: Seven of my children have been throwing up because of the test pressure. Mr. Rieger says that's an all-time high.

Girl: My stomach feels funny.

Teacher: Go to the lavatory. [Sends two children with her.] I'm really tired doing all this testing. I want to get back to teaching.

And there is the steady question of what children should be attending to. Do you write on the first-grade blackboard:

> Today is Tuesday, November 9. It's a cloudy day. Ms. Walker is now Mrs. Scott. Mrs. Scott gave us some things from Mexico.

Or:

> Today is October 15. It is 50 degrees outside. Today is Mr. Rieger's birthday. Happy Birthday.

Or:

> [nothing at all]

This is not an earth-shaking choice. But it is not trivial either -- and dozens of such choices must be made steadily -- even when one is not "individualizing".

We make these remarks simply to indicate that in School 3 -- as in School 2 -- the implementation of team planning, of individualized learning approaches, and of imaginative uses of groupings and space occur in a rich, messy, detailed, pressing, and sometimes turbulent context. Non-teachers may regard this view as defensive or apologetic. We do not.

To return to the account: George continued to make it clear to teachers that they should move carefully. On November 8, an annotated "agenda" for one of the first long faculty meetings, read, under item 8:

> Please remember that our concept is open space with a team approach and not open education. Individualization should be done slowly and on a structured basis. Pupils should not just work on their own without teacher supervision and checking.

Almost none of the other 22 items, 20 of which were announcements, dealt directly with implementation problems; without discussion invited, they ranged from plan books and bell schedules to parking, required meetings, and substitutes. The exception, item 16, said:

> It is requested that each grade level develop procedures for timed tests on basic facts pertinent to their grade level. This is extremely important when we get into multiplication and division facts but just as important as addition or subtraction in the lower grades. These tests should be given on a regular basis each week.

We do not know whether this request was in fact complied with. Most of the time in the meeting was devoted to discussion of parking, report cards and parent conferences, American Education Week (parent visits) and setting up a safety patrol for the sixth grade.

On December 2, George was finally successful in scheduling an

experienced open-space teacher, Brenda Steiner, to come and work with the troubled first grade team (and the second grade as well). With encouragement from John Manganaro, he explained the details of the day to the other principals at a December 15 rap session:

> At 8 A.M. she met with the second grade pod and found out what questions were on their minds, at 8:30 with the first grade pod..she then went from teacher to teacher while substitutes were working with the children, [observing, then] talking with them about such problems as noise levels, keeping track of kids' progress, open space, individualization....They also got into nitty gritty issues like how to get the grease pencil markings washed off.

The teachers had a buffet lunch with Brenda, then she talked with them in pairs for an hour, and talked with George (as he explained to the rap session, "I wanted to know whether I was being helpful or a pain in the ass."), visited the rest of the building, the "rapped informally" with teachers until 4. Teachers from both pods said they'd like to visit her school.

John Manganaro reported on the lunch:

> They asked Brenda what you do first. Her response was, you assess the needs, etc., but the teachers said "No, not that, what do you do when the kids walk in?" She said, "Oh, I see. Well, we get their coats put away, we have salute to the flag."
>
> Essentially the classroom management issues were in the forefront of the teachers' minds. They listened as she took them through her day. They were quite amazed at how grouping worked as she described it. They didn't know the actual stuff of management, how to deal with kids, furniture, space. It wasn't as easy as Brenda was making it, but it was very reassuring.

It seemed clear that many teachers had few clear images of how they might actually be proceeding, which is not surprising in light of the extremely sketchy preparation they had had.

And it was also clear that John saw an opening to achieve more of his original hopes. After George said to Ed, "I think she would be an excellent consultant for grades 1 and 2 in your school", (Ed said, "Um hum.") John pressed on enthusiastically and "uniformly":

> I'd like to set the idea in motion for all six grades for schools 2 and 3, beginning with a questionnaire to open space principals to find out their nominations for good consultants.

And when George said this could be tied to an in-service seminar, John continued:

> The first component, the consultant comes; the second component, visit the consultant's school; the third component, in-service training designed by the teachers.

He recalled that the earlier in-service work had been managed essentially from above, and said, "This is one more notch toward involving the teachers". Ed agreed:

> It should be that way, they are now in the classroom, now they are really doing it. There's no better way than bringing someone in.

Ken agreed, "It's not so much experts that we need but hands-on stuff", and John said a teacher planning committee should be formed.

But the discussion reverted almost immediately to teachers whom the principals defined as "problems", and to reshuffling of pod teams for next year. Even John said:

> If people like Sefero and Hoffster don't work out we are going to have to make a hard-nosed decision, either carve up the space so it's two-thirds open and one-third closed, or get them out of the school.

George explained that he had told Ruth Sefero "she wasn't going to make it in open space" and reviewed his ideas (move the first grade out of the pods to the 5th grade area, staffing it with Ruth and Alice Scott and shift Marie Calisi to work in the 3rd grade).

> John: You are killing Alice's chance to work in open space.

> George: No, she can learn to work in open space on her own, she doesn't have to team.

As the discussion went on, John seemed to accept the shuffling option at least as it applied to "problem" cases:

> We're dealing with a group of human beings. In each school there is a person with more reluctance to teach in the open space, to team,

> etc.. By rearranging things we can allow them to be closer to traditional teaching, we are responding to teacher style... It's like a guy whose legs are gone gets moved to first base. That's perfectly legitimate. I see no problem with moving Hoffster or Sefero.

So with the vague plan that teacher-consultants would be used "in all grades", a teacher committee would be organized, and the idea that a good deal of moving teachers around for next year was needed and legitimate,[23] the administrators turned to other pressing items, such as the statewide goal-setting and assessment scheme, the Iowa test results (George frowned when he saw that the fifth grade reading scores in his school were low), substitutes, and teacher recruitment. The only other implementation-relevant item was discussion of a skills record card for math developed by the Curriculum Committee, which John pointed out would aid individualization.

During a field worker's visit to School No. 3 in mid-December, he noted with interest that lunchtime eating patterns varied: one group (including the second grade teachers and the first grade ones except for Ruth Sefero) was eating in the teachers' room, while another (including the fifth grade teachers and Ruth) went out to a nearby diner. This suggested the beginnings of subgroups, and he decided to track this more in the future.

He also noted that the second grade teachers seemed to be doing a good deal of joint planning on matters varying from Christmas pinatas to reading groups. Both Mary O'Neill and Maria Stazzone said things were going "really well".

On January 13, George asked the field worker:

> Have you seen the change in the first grade? Calisi and Scott have opened up. Are you surprised?

A visit to the pod did indeed suggest some real differences. Marie said:

> This is our third day. We are starting to plan together and break up the group. It's working very well now. It's certainly different.

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23) Though, as we have seen, team composition (including their past history of acquaintance) often seemed critical to good functioning, the administrators evidently did not worry about breaking up teams, and did not consider that this might make for extra problems as new teams struggled to develop collaboration. Questions of seniority and tenure may often have outweighed questions of compatibility and competence (for example, Marie Calisi, who George wanted to move out, was untenured with two years of experience in the system, while Alice Scott and Ruth Sefero each had 8-10 years and were tenured).

The room was indeed differently arranged: the traditional seating had been shifted to small groups, and the furniture barriers between Marie's class and Alice Scott's were gone. Alice Scott confirmed Marie's feelings:

> There are a lot less problems now. A lot more scheduled work but it's really going well. We're grouping, teaming, switching teachers. The kids didn't seem to mind, nobody made a big deal of it.[24)]

Neither Alice nor Marie mentioned Brenda Steiner's consulting day. But both said the fact that they had finally gotten a new student teacher had caused them to change: "Ruth had the student teacher last time so we decided we would share him together, now we can get everything done."

Meanwhile Ruth Sefero was focused on working with her class, doing a phonics lesson with children in traditional seating; furniture marked off her area precisely.

Once again it may be useful to summarize where implementation seemed to have gotten so far. As the notes above show, two of the first-grade teachers had begun much more active team planning and use of subgrouping. In the second grade, similar things were happening: Mary O'Neill was making up reading "skill packets" for her students and helping the other teachers in the pod with theirs. Maria Stazzone was excited about the reading groups (which included students from each of the other two teachers' classes):

> It's fantastic. It helps break up the day, and things seem to go faster. There's a routine. Sometimes it gets a little hectic and confusing, but we conference [and solve it].

None of the second grade teachers mentioned Brenda Steiner either. Were the administrators' views of her helpfulness exaggerated, or were the teachers wanting to feel they had "done it themselves"?

In Helene Prybilski's third grade pod on this day in mid-January, children were busily and quietly at work, spread around in small groups: the field worker noted that Helene was away from them for nearly 10 minutes while they continued on their own. Her pod-mate Sharon Giotto said things were going "mostly OK, but there are different teaching methods that vary from person to person and we have to work that out". They shared students for reading, and planned social studies and science together, she said. Both seemed satisfied, though Helene did not like losing her student teacher and said:

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24) Note that she had said earlier when stress was high, "I don't feel it will work for first graders, it's not beneficial for them".

> Some days you wish there were walls you could put in so you could talk quietly with the kids. Sometimes if I have to do quiet work I go over to the science room in the old part of the building. And I really feel guilty having recess while the other class is working.

These comments suggest less-than-optimal team functioning, but a reasonable degree of individualization.

The field worker had a general sense that Bonnie Fabrizi and Florence Matlow were working together reasonably well (for example, he noted them working together with all the children from both classes on reading, and saw much evidence of individualization (math folders, language packets, a science center).

In the 5th grade (old part of the building), Marjorie Ross and Joseph Augusto left the door open in the screen between them, and shared children for math, but did little other joint planning; the field worker sensed that Augusto would have liked more collaboration, but that Mrs. Ross did not welcome it.

In the similarly-set-up 6th grade pair of rooms, Jan Starr and Sara Jacobucci, who had worked together for several years in the past, kept the screen open, occasionally worked with each other's classes, but did little small group work "because of the space".

The two kindergartens in the old part of the building continued to be run separately -- and warmly and well, the field worker felt -- by Kathy Keaton and Astrid Teno.

The sorts of generalized implementation stress which had appeared in School No. 2 did not seem to have appeared here; the school nurse, for example, said that pupil and teacher health problems had been at a normal level. And though the music teachers were very critical of the way the space had been planned, they and other special teachers did not seem as upset as their counterparts at School No. 2.

Jan Artay did not complain that his consulting capabilities were unused, as with Ed Pallacino: rather disagreements over appropriate treatment of children, or his feeling that George was sometimes unavailable for meetings seemed more central. The field worker visited a meeting of the Child Study Team, with George Rieger attending, in mid-January. George occasionally expressed irritation about missing information or slow action, he took active initiative, and the meeting worked vigorously through the cases of many different children who were needing special services.

Where stress was reported in School 3, it was either localized in a particular team (the first grade, in this case), or seemed a function of the general climate in the school. Not a few teachers seemed

suspicious of the field worker. We have already noted that George's sometimes impatient, vigorous, interventive style had its consequences in teachers' worrying that "things will get back to him". George also occasionally put pressure on teachers. One teacher reported the day before Hallowe'en:

> He was screaming that everyone should come in costumes. He was really bullying one of the teachers. Principal or no, he shouldn't push like that. I think he's really mad at me and some of them who aren't wearing costumes today.

Not everyone was bothered: Maria Stazzone was not only dressed as a scarecrow but had a scarecrow dummy set up in her room, and Kathy Keaton was cheerfully wearing Mickey Mouse ears and a leotard. And others (Mary O'Neill, for example) didn't wear a costume but made no issue of it. So George's style struck different people differently. But for those who did not like to be compliant, his activeness seems to have been grating. When his activeness led to help (as, we cautiously infer) with Brenda Steiner's visit, it was useful. In either case, George tended to be central, and to some degree to take the responsibility for implementation trouble-shooting and problem-solving -- a position rarely occupied by Ed Pallacino at School No. 2.*

Generally speaking, it was not at all clear whether teachers at School No. 3 felt pressure to implement teaming, individualization and flexible use of groupings and space.[25] George had certainly warned people to go slow -- but he had also met with teams often and brought in a consultant to help teachers implement the new approaches. In any case, a number of teachers had done so, and a number simply continued to do approximately what they were used to doing already.

The State of the System

Generally speaking, it appears that by the turn of the year both schools had passed through initial stress to a moderately stabilized situation. To what degree might the implementation be considered successful?

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* Ed disagreed with this statement, saying, "The teachers were not just on their own. I was behind it."

25) We inferred from the behavior of some teachers toward field workers that they did feel some stress. For example, a few seemed to suspect field workers of "owning" open education: they were quick to discuss open education or ask questions about it, or gave defensive explanations when their teaching did not fit the supposed paradigm.

In terms of congruence with hoped-for goals, a fair statement is that perhaps half of the teachers in each school had begun a serious effort at collaborative planning within teams; they also were beginning to use the space (and subgroupings of students) more flexibly. Probably more than half were working to individualize instruction. But it was also true that much teaching was still relatively traditional. As we have seen, too, some of the original hopes for more student influence and affectively-oriented teaching which were part of the central office administrators' vision were not shared by the principals, and went by the board.

Both schools seemed to be able to cope with emergent problems reasonably well -- in School 2, it seemed, through a variety of support systems other than that of the principal's role, and in School 3 mainly through the principal.

Satisfaction on the part of teachers seemed on the upswing in both schools; while parents' views ranged widely, no one was on the warpath. And though what looked like stress reactions were high in School 2 in the fall, students by and large at this point seemed happy.

Were the schools functioning well in terms of student learning? We do not know. Some parents and some students complained of students being "behind" early in the year, but others gave positive testimony. And even the complaints seemed to lessen as the schools gradually stabilized.

Analysis and Commentary

What might have accounted for the course of events we have described? Some aspects were expected, but others were surprising to us as researchers.

Political stabilization. In spite of not a little turbulence (the teacher job action, the conflicts within the Board), each principal, sometimes with the help of Ken and John, seemed to have been relatively successful in maintaining positive stakeholder endorsement. Buffering strategies, relabelling of open education as "back to basics", use of media to provide favorable interpretations, and occasional direct (but managed) school visits by Board members all played a part. Essentially, the principals worked to protect the schools from potential parent criticism, either by blurring what was going on, by emphasizing professional competence ("You're not the teacher..") or by making it difficult for criticism to be expressed and heard by other parents.

Knowledge utilization. By and large, the principals and administrators continued to rely on their own resources to aid implementation, rather than turning to experts or other sources of specialized knowledge. Orenstein was not invited to help, even with "problem teams"; Angelino's talk seemed mainly aimed at defusing potential parent worries; even the experienced insider Artay who wanted to help with implementation could

not negotiate a role different from his ordinary one of diagnosing and helping children in difficulty. We did not hear of instances in which expert opinion was consulted in the choice of learning materials.

The principals and administrators did continue occasional use of other practitioners' expertise, as in the visits to neighboring districts, and the assistance of Brenda Steiner. But more visits were wanted by teachers than occurred, and Brenda's work was limited to two pod groups.

Actualization. How well did the principals -- the de facto P/I managers -- do at the task of bringing the projected design of the new schools into being? At one level, there were few problems in actualizing the basic social-architectural design, which as we noted, was relatively conventional. At another level, there was a good deal of stress and difficulty. For one thing, there was acquiescence with the implicit constraint that the schools should open on time, even though furniture and materials were lacking, construction was still under way, and teachers were unprepared. 26) Beyond this, the fact that no special P/I roles or mechanisms were created to steer the actualization process meant added overload: the burdens of newness competed for the principal's attention with other system demands (the goal-setting scheme, teacher evaluation, etc.)27)

The principals seemed to manage implementation largely by skillful day-to-day coping. Ed seemed to restrict his efforts largely to the facilities and routines, with deliberately minimal attention to the social system and its subparts; George was much more active in this respect, but sometimes produced resentment with his interventions. Both concentrated most energy in thinking about "worst cases" (the teams which were having the most collaboration problems).

Just as teachers had had inadequate prior training,* so they now

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26) Ed said he had pushed for a delayed opening, but that John and Ken had said, "The Board has made a public decision."

27) We are indebted to Rein van der Vegt for pointing out that implementation of any educational innovation ordinarily requires extra energy, and planned intervention into the receiving system. If an organization does not create a special subsystem to manage implementation, then the energy to do so must be "stolen" from other parts of the system. These remarks have even more strength when a whole system (as in our case) rather than a part, is being put into place.

* After reading this account, George Rieger said he did not agree with the label "inadequate". He cited instances where he had taken teachers to seminars and workshops, in addition to the school visits and consulting we have described. Ed Pallacino concurred; he had taken all eight of his "old" teachers on school visits. But we must note that many teachers did not feel their training was adequate.

had very little day-to-day support. Though both principals seemed careful not to pressure teachers to team more, it seemed clear that the openness of the space, which not only made for interference if teachers did not coordinate their efforts, but made teachers' working styles visible to their colleagues as never before, constituted a strong force toward teaming. Teachers were thus thrust into a process of largely unsupported coping -- a process which proved stressful even for those already strongly disposed toward "open education". Given the lack of training and support, and the fact that teachers as a group had little investment in the plans for the new schools, it is perhaps not surprising that each teacher's prior experience and dispositions seemed to be a main early determinant of whether she accepted of rejected the task she was faced with. Secondarily, those teachers within teams who had a prior acquaintance with each other, or some past history of collaboration seemed to cope more easily. Most teachers without (a) positive attitude toward "open education" or (b) past experience with it or (c) a supportive partner quite naturally operated using their traditional skills, as if the open space were a self-contained classroom. But this mode, because of issues like noise and crowding, was stressful. It was not until teachers developed more supports within teams (as in the No. 3 first grade pair), or got clearer images of how to proceed (Brenda Steiner's visit) that inexperienced or traditionally-oriented teachers could move toward implementation.[28]

Implementation stress seemed higher in School No. 2 than in No. 3. We believe this occurred because (a) more teachers were new to the school, and all were faced with the "pressure" of open space; (b) more teachers were disposed toward "open education", hence were willing to move away from the familiar; (c) formal support was less than in School No. 3. It also seems possible that the more-extreme delay in construction completion was a factor.

Two other themes bore on how well the schools were actualized. One is the constraint-autonomy dilemma. Though Ken and John began by

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28) This analysis has repeatedly stressed the importance of training and support. Since making it, we have been reinforced in our belief by the findings of Berman & McLaughlin (1977); in a study of the implementation and continuation of 100 Title III innovative educational programs, they found that teacher commitment to the project (that is, investment) was critical to success, and that teacher participation in planning often heightened this. Adequate prior training aided implementation. Most crucially, continuing support (consultation, meetings, classroom assistance, observation of other classrooms) -- if practical and timely -- was associated with successful project continuation. In Westgate, the principals (and many teachers) were not particularly "invested", teacher participation was minimal, and both prior training and support were weak.

monitoring the schools daily, and put some pressure on teachers to implement more effectively, they soon backed off, moving toward the "autonomy" side in their relation to the principals. This reinforced Ed's commitment to teacher autonomy, and signaled to George that they would not try to influence (or help) him.

We were also especially interested in how the two principals were seen as reacting to complaints. "Complaints" are data that a system is not working properly: a successfully reflexive P/I group or manager will be able to take corrective action based on such data. But in these settings, one manager was seen as listening to teachers' complaints, but as not acting on them; the other was seen as responding punitively to teacher complaints.* Successful actualization is unlikely in either mode.

More generally, data on the P/I effort were constricted in both settings. Under these circumstances, implementers often made incorrect attributions to others: Ed believed that teachers wanted to be left alone, when not a few badly wanted meetings and support; George thought that teachers working late meant they were committed, when they resented it; teachers thought that kids disliked the open space and could not cope, when kids seemed to be coping quite well. And incorrect attributions often led to continuation of unsatisfactory conditions.

Institutionalization. It was clear by mid-year that things had begun to stabilize. Rather, there had been a series of successive stabilizations -- the relief after the first day, followed by the stress of noise, furniturelessness and missing materials. Then an accommodation to these issues -- followed, if seemed, by more stress, when issues of team collaboration became sharper in some cases. Then a more settled stabilization, with teams either wholeheartedly into collaboration, or agreeing clearly to a limited version.

These comments are rather vague -- partly because the institutionalization process itself seemed vague, only partially visible, and indeed somewhat miraculous at times to field workers. The fact that these were by and large experienced teachers meant that they had an array of coping skills, a repertoire of interventions they could draw on -- even in the stresses of an unfamiliar setting. So much of the

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* George Rieger may have been responsive to parent complaints, however. After reading this, Ken Braun commented:

> George backed off his previous favorable commitment to open education early at the first signs of some parental opposition. That position seemed to have come from the PTA leadership which is frequently present in that school. In conversations with central office George had indicated that he interpreted their storm signals as being representative of his school community and thus he was going to give them the type program he thought they wanted.

institutionalization process proceeded in shorthand, so to speak: teachers could assemble, and easily display to each other, a somewhat new set of mutual role expectations, drawing on a reasonably common language. At least, that is what we speculate was happening.

Key Decisions

Hundreds of implementation decisions were made during this period. Given the limitations of our data, we cannot as before track these and point to their consequences. A few stand out: Ed's early decision not to have faculty meetings, his continuing and explicit "decision" not to intervene at the team level and his decision to involve the teachers in schedule creation; George's decision to send teams to visit Hardenburgh, and to bring in Brenda Steiner; Ken and John's tacit decision to back off and let principals proceed largely as they wished. These seemed to have consequences mainly in the area of support (or lack of it) for implementation.

The unanticipated consequences of the earlier decision to include "traditionally"-oriented teachers in each team along with those more committed to "open education"* now surfaced; it seems clear that the administrators (a) did not realize how difficult this might make team planning; (b) did not realize just how much extra stress teams would experience when collaboration was difficult. As before, they tended to recast the issues in "personality" terms, focusing on "resistant" individuals rather than on the teams as sub-systems with difficulties in conflict management and coordination.

Most generally: The quality and ownership of implementation decisions during this period were sometimes weak because (a) as in School 2, they were excessively decentralized, and it was not always clear what was happening; or (b) as in School 3, they were centrally managed, but in a style that sometimes produced resentment or mistrust.

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* After reading this, Ken Braun explained his view of the decision:

> Had the original concept with respect to a mixture of traditional and open space teachers been achievable we would have had two open teachers working together and one traditional in the same space. The commitment to the public and the board had always been a traditional alternative at each grade level. It was quite apparent to administration at the time teacher transfers were discussed that there was little likelihood that we would be able to offer open education as an alternative at a number of grade levels. Since there was no such lack of readiness for open space at the time we were ready to move into the buildings (for which administration takes some of the blame) we decided to move slowly and administration would be responding primarily to teachers' initial concerns with respect to missing furniture, books, etc. and adjusting to a whole new school environment.

Decisions at their best in School 2 were made by the people close to the consequences (teachers);* decisions at their best in School 3 were made through direct problem-solving efforts between principal and teachers.

Later Implementation

The final section of our narrative account covers the period from mid-year through the end of school in June, assesses what each school turned out to be like by the end of its first year of operation, and reviews our explanations for what happened.

Changes in the P/I Group and Meta-Plan

As before, the primary P/I functions were essentially carried out by principals, teaching teams and individual teachers. George and Ed continued to provide support to each other. The administrators' "rap session" occurred every few weeks, but dealt only intermittently with implementation issues. At a point when parents' complaints became more vigorous, John Manganaro and Ken Braun intervened somewhat more actively than during the fall, but in general they maintained distance from the events of continued implementation. In mid-spring a new actor appeared: Miles, the research project director, worked recurrently with the rap session and with the two principals to plan and implement the collection (and feedback) of systematic questionnaire data from all teachers and a sample of parents.

As before, ordinary operating "data", and the ordinary timetable were by and large in evidence; the main special P/I event was the visit of two consultants to School No. 2. Otherwise day-to-day coping was the main work style.

Chronology

The district/administrative context. Before we proceed to the events at School No. 2 and School No. 3, we should review some of the themes and issues which were preoccupying district administrators during this period -- over and beyond the day-to-day business of managing the schools.

First, financial uncertainty continued. By mid-January, it looked as if as much as $156,000 might have to be cut from the budget, requiring the dropping of eight teacher positions.[29] An 8½% raise awarded

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* Ed said: "They knew they had me behind them."

29) As one administrator pointed out, the Westgate schools were spending $8 million a year, so the cuts represented something like 2% of the total. The point, however, is that even this amount provoked a great deal of uncertainty and turbulence, and made planning difficult.

teachers after the job action intensified an already uncertain situation, and aroused community resistance to the proposed budget. In early February active lobbying began for and by physical education and music teachers, who were the most likely candidates for cutting. And even though in late February it appeared there was some surplus for this year's operation that could be used to restore some cut programs, there was still much financial pressure, making it uncertain whether adequate money for textbooks, materials, and supplies would be available. In late March the budget referendum was defeated, even though the Board elections resulted in three "pro-school" candidates' being elected. The defeated budget went to the City Council, and there was a good deal of tension and unrest steadily as various teacher and program cuts (and management of surpluses, which as late as May 18 Mr. Bond reported were "somewhere between $175 - $340 thousand") were going on simultaneously. Finally a new budget was worked out and approved, but the entire spring had been a financially threatening and precarious one.

Ken and John continued to put a great deal of time into the state-mandated goal-setting and planning scheme; this involved repeated special meetings of all teachers, and many parents and secondary students. As before, there was irony in Ken's complaint that "we have been so bogged down in [the scheme] that there's been no time for thinking about in-service".

The results of the system-wide reading and math tests also generated a good deal of work during the spring; principals held special meetings with their teachers to plan for improving weak spots; a reading consultant[30] had criticized the 4th, 5th and 6th grade results. The principals took this seriously, commenting, "it's a unifying force.. it helps us evaluate ourselves" and George proposed that the consultant give the principals a two-day-in-service workshop so they could work with the teachers more effectively.

Several other issues took recurring attention in rap sessions: decisions about supplies, materials and textbooks, and the problems of teacher transfers within and across schools for the coming year. Attention to planning for in-service work was an occasional, usually minor topic. On all three issues, it seemed that the administrators, while retaining their prerogatives, were somewhat - but not much - more inclined to seek teacher input than they had been on the earlier issues of rezoning and teacher assignment. For example, on February 10, all Westgate teachers met by grade level in a "curriculum workshop"; each group sent a written report of problems and recommendations to Ken Braun. But when he read them to the principals at the rap session on February 25, the typical response was to minimize or deny the issues

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30) A professor of reading and head of the state reading teachers' association, he was a personal friend of Ken Braun, and had volunteered his services.

being raised. For example, one principal "facetiously" suggested: 'Let's see if we can fit as many as possible of these into the category 'no money'", a phrase he frequently repeated as needs for materials, use of special teachers and so on were reported. And when the second grade report requested the clarification of responsibilities about teaching of metrication and the English program, someone said, "They shouldn't even be asking these questions." Though the first grade report mentioned real problems with open space teaching (crowding in pods, clumsy furniture) and requested early dismissal for the first week of school, the only response was "This one's a beauty" and "It's like going back to 1953" (an allusion to historic complaints about early dismissal that upper-grade teachers had once voiced). When the fourth grade report mentioned that Bonnie Fabrizi had volunteered to revise curriculum guides over the summer, and that the fourth grade teachers were very much excited about the possibility of further grade-level meetings, there was little response, and some criticism of the teachers' proposal that there be more time for teacher-selected "free units" ("That might make life difficult for the 5th grade teachers.. They all have their themes, there is no unanimity.") The fifth grade report mentioned "problems of open education..functioning of the pods in schools 2 and 3...how can we work and share better", but this only got a query as to who the grade-level representative had been.

The research project director, who was attending this meeting to work on problems of questionnaire administration, noted:

> I recurrently felt very uncomfortable. They seemed to be writing off or denying a lot of the issues, and were certainly not engaged in much problem-solving. If the teachers, especially those who were taking the work seriously and volunteering their energy, had heard this meeting, I think they would in many cases have been furious.

The only issues which seemed to engage the administrators seriously at this meeting were those of uniform practices across schools (for example, the meaning of number grades, the fact that the SWRL reading program was being (and should be) used in all kindergartens though most teachers did not want it,[31]) and precise methods of

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31) After George Rieger's kindergarten teachers said they liked the SWRL program, it was required in all schools. Ironically, when Ken's questions revealed that use of the program had started at varying times (November, October and January) in the different schools, George immediately said, "There is so much comparing going on between schools," as if to protect some of the autonomy and diversity which teachers were complaining was lacking. And all the principals stood up for their kindergarten teachers when Ken said they were doing "lockstep" teaching.

attendance-keeping, a matter on which principals are held closely accountable). So in general, though Ken had invited teacher feedback and problem identification, the principals tended not to act responsively.

Supplies, materials, and texts are a rather central feature of life in schools. They are the basic supports for the day-to-day work of teachers. So we wanted to understand, if we could, just how these were decided on. That was, however, not an easy question for field workers to untangle. It seemed that administrators wanted to involve teachers, and invited the curriculum council to make text proposals, but felt that teachers did not want to own up to the responsibility. In a rap session:

> Principal: A teacher asked me why Braun selected that text. I said, "Bull. It wasn't selected by those guys, you did it." So [the teacher] said, "No, we didn't". So I said [sarcastically] "Well, nobody in any school did it."*

And in another rap session a principal complained that a teacher who wanted special books had complained to a Board member, who went to Mr. Bond, who then "had the nerve" to tell the principal that the teacher should get the books. As early as February 4, both Ken Braun and George Rieger made a strong pitch for the idea that teachers (both in the curriculum council and at the building level) should be engaged in setting priorities and choosing how to spend materials money given the current fiscal crisis, with the final veto being the principal's. At the next rap session Charlie Waterman supported this, and though there were grumblings that "if we give them that leeway we better hold back $2.00 [per student] because in September we'll certainly have someone who [has second thoughts]", the principals did move toward encouraging more teacher initiative in this area of expenditures. On April 29, George explained to the others that he was experimenting with a new approach to ordering materials and supplies: specifying a dollar total, and leaving grade level teams free to allocate funds among workbooks,

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* Ken Braun's comment after reading this was:

> It is quite likely that few if any teachers in one school voted for a textbook adoption while the majority from the other three schools favored a different book. A long standing board policy of the same book adoption for all schools has been reiterated throughout the years, despite periodic efforts to break with tradition. Some teachers feel very strongly that they should have the right to choose whatever book they prefer regardless of what other teachers may feel, but the board has constantly rejected this approach.

texts, ditto masters, etc.. "It's giving them a professional choice." The others agreed it was worth trying. But in the very next few minutes of the meeting there was this exchange:

> Principal: My teachers say there should be a language arts book rather than a speller for next year.
>
> Ken: That's not in the cards for next year. And this is also a time to bring kindergarten teachers in line. They are using unapproved materials [in one school] and other teachers complain.

And a month later, when it was reported that three different kindergarten teachers had said they wanted Random House math materials, someone immediately joked: "There must be something wrong with the book if they all think it's good." During a discussion of science texts, a principal said:

> It will be American Book. We've already democratically, unanimously decided that even though the committee hasn't met.*

The discussion also alluded frequently to pressures from the parent Curriculum Advisory Committee, and the need to lobby them for support of textbook policies (such as having alternate texts).

> Principal: [mock surprise] You mean political issues come up in education?
>
> Ken: The book you're writing is called "The Principal as Politician".
>
> Principal: And there's no subtitle.

Our general reading was that principals partly wanted to involve teachers in materials-ordering, partly felt pressured by the community, and partly wanted to retain control (not to mention autonomy in their own schools). The net effect was of considerable ambiguity about decision-making in this area, with the weight still tipped toward a top-down model.

The problem of teacher transfers involved less ambiguity, but was not simple. As early as February 4, it was clear that shifting enrollments, the upward movements of pupils (say, from a pod where three classes had been included to the next pod which had had only two teachers staffing it) and teacher shifts including returns from maternity leave would require changes within schools (and possibly across them). This

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* The comment was satirical. After reading this, George Rieger pointed out that another science text was in fact adopted.

sort of shifting was a familiar task, involving some disruption and pain when teachers had to move to a new grade level. This year, however, more was at stake: shifting teachers would mean breaking up teams (though the principals did not seem to worry too much about this). The transfers were also an opportunity for principals to solve the difficulties of "problem teams" by exporting members who were having difficulties in their teams, like Ruth Sefero or Adele Hoffster. The principals considered various options individually, but did not begin firming up decisions until April (the contract required notice of involuntary transfers by April 30). They discussed possibilities on April 5, including the possibility of multi-age grouping, but quickly shifted to a bartering, bantering mode:

> I need two sixth grade teachers.
>
> I have a surplus in second.
>
> If you take X [a "problem" teacher] I'll give you Y.
>
> If somebody kicks and screams we'll have to have a hearing.
>
> When you're dealing with women, there's only one way of handling them.
>
> After what we have to go through here, I wouldn't want to be a teacher either.

Cross-school transfers were agreed on before the deadline, but still had a manipulative quality behind the good-humored joking: one principal complained on April 29 that he was "getting all the junk", and another, learning to his surprise that a teacher he had accepted from another school had been quite antagonistic to her principal, kept returning to the topic in mock outrage "You bastard, you played a game on me!)

As we shall see, the impending transfers were causing some stress and worry for teachers -- and in late May the principals expressed some concern. Ed Pallacino, in a discussion which was considering re-transferring some teachers who had already accepted a transfer within School No. 2, said:

> I don't want people to get all psyched up, ready to teach in a new pod, and then frustrate them. That would really be something.

But even so, the bartering continued, with jokes like "If you move her, you better have the custodian start your car for the next few weeks." Most of the impending transfers had already been discussed with the teachers involved, but it was still clear that the principals saw themselves as the decision group.

The principals also worked from time to time on in-service training

issues. As we shall see, experienced open-space teacher-consultants visited School No. 2 in February. But prior to the visit, in a rap session there was this exchange:

> Ken: How about the open ed course? I haven't moved on it yet.
>
> George: I think it's going to be too much.
>
> Ed: I think that just consultation will be enough
>
> Ken: Well, we have to have some in-service credit, it's a minimum and the teachers are supposed to get that and they want it.

In spite of Ken's push, however, there was no further action on the idea of an open education course that would involve the teachers actively. And on April 29, when Ken asked whether Ed or George wanted to use a "professional day" to help teachers new to their schools get oriented, there was no response. The rap session discussion of summer work on May 17 was thorough and serious, focusing on which teachers should attend the projected science workshop, in which George was taking an active role. But when Ken asked about in-service work for next year, the conversation seemed desultory:

> Ed: What about doing something on metrication?
>
> Ken: That would be politically nice. How about science?
>
> George: I thought it was understood that we were going to have a lot of science.
>
> Charlie: I think our social studies work is blah, there's little imagination.
>
> Ken: That's a hard one, though I agree with you. The teachers think they teach that best -- they've fooled everyone except the kids.

There were no proposals at all that direct attention should be given to further issues of implementation of open education (team planning, individualization, learning centers, etc.). As we shall see, when the three teachers who were coming together to work in School No. 2's 6th grade requested a week of summer work time for planning, they got it. But the principals seemed to be assuming that little further support of teachers was needed. This may have been partly because the year was winding down -- and, as Ken said, "We got through this year pretty well" -- and partly because the history of in-service education in Westgate, like that in most school districts, did not inspire much confidence or expectation of real help.

The course of events around the research project's questionnaires for teachers and parents sheds some further light on the administrative context. In early February a field worker mentioned that draft versions of the questionnaires, which had been agreed to at the start of the relationship, would be coming soon for the administrators' review and approval; a principal's comment about the parent one was, "You shouldn't wave a red flag in front of bulls". Miles met with the group at the next rap session and explained that the teacher questionnaires would deal with a wide range of issues from planning time to the principal's leadership style, and contacts with parents. The shorter parent version would be given to a sample, and would emphasize goals, contacts with and views of the school, "not asking for fine detail". Summary reports would be made available, he explained.

Two main themes appeared in the discussion: first, a strong concern that the two schools not be compared. George said:

> I would be very concerned about this kind of comparison.. The questions you will ask reflect a different [principal] style. I've had most of the teachers in my building around 9 or 10 years, so there could be a certain amount of loyalty even though I might be a bastard, where Ed's are new and haven't read him yet.

Both principals stressed that the year had been a difficult one: "there's not enough time in the day....it's a momentous job....and it just hasn't stopped", as if to ward off in advance any negative findings. They said both teachers and parents had been making comparisons already across the two schools.

The second theme centered around data feedback. George said:

> I would love to see what the teachers think of my style..but to identify this in the community, or with the teachers, that's something else.

(On the previous day, as we shall see, several upset parents had pushed John and Ken hard about having a special meeting of parents to discuss how things were going in School 2. So the principals were justifiably nervous.)

Miles did not make firm commitments about procedures, but said the possibility existed that some data might not be fed back at all, and some might be lumped across the two schools.

> It's a real dilemma. If the data are lumped, you and your teachers won't learn much about the dynamics of your school. If it's separate you learn more about your school, but the problem of invidious comparisons comes up.

He also suggested that teachers be paid for filling out the questionnaire (it would take at least an hour), agreed to send draft copies of the questionnaires for review ahead of the next rap session, and said the data collection should wait until the time was "least problematic" (for example, after the proposed March 30 meeting of parents at School No. 2). He also agreed to revise or delete questions the rap session members did not like. He offered to make the questionnaire available for the staffs of Schools 1 and 4, but Charlie and Jim did not seem eager to accept. And he agreed to come to a short faculty meeting in each school to answer questions about the study.

We should note that this discussion took place also in a context of somewhat disturbed field worker access. At School 2, several teachers had felt pressured by the field worker's questions and complained to Ed. At School 3, teachers had also complained, disliking the fact that the field worker was taking notes in the lunchroom and seemed to be interested in "making a sociogram", as George said they put it.

At the next rap session on March 11, Miles, who had sent the questionnaire ahead as planned, arrived to find the principals quite upset: the day before Ed had been on the phone for nearly two hours to George, and George, Ed and Jim had met early that morning to share their dissatisfaction:

> George: There's going to be a strike of a couple of principals. They're going on maternity leaves.
>
> Ed: Or paternity leaves.

The principals felt the questionnaire was strongly evaluative of them, and that the community situation was much too volatile (the Board elections were pending, and a crisis was mounting with parents at School 2). In brief, George said, he did not want to give the questionnaire at all, unless ordered to. Ken and John said it was a "bad time...a high risk intervention". Miles accepted the comments, though he naturally felt quite caught up in what was a quite turbulent discussion, and proposed that he meet separately with George and Ed to review the questionanire and see what items were most problematic. On the way to that meeting, George explained that he was worried that the Board would use the questionnaire data to discredit Ed, and pointed out the old "banishment" of Ed to "Siberia" which had occurred 21 years ago. Miles accepted George's concern, and at the meeting suggested that the questionnaire should be carefully reviewed for upsetting or difficult items, that the administration should be postponed until mid-April, and that only non-problematic items would be fed back on a separate-school basis, with the remaining items lumped. This seemed to reassure them both, and thereafter they had few revision suggestions. George steadily showed his concern and support for Ed. He also asked Miles:

I know you can't really comment, but I'd like you to reassure us that there are no serious problems in the schools.

Miles: Well, I don't think either one of you is sitting on a volcano.

And later, George objected to the sociometric items in the questionnaires because "I already have camps", and seemed relieved when Miles said those would not be fed back. So though George presented the situation as potentially dangerous for Ed, one might guess that he felt somewhat vulnerable too.[32)]

On April 5 at the rap session it was agreed to give the questionnaire after a forthcoming Board meeting on open education at School 2 "if we don't get crucified". The teacher questionnaires were administered in meetings at each school on April 25 without difficulty.

The parent questionnaire aroused worried too. The teachers at School 2, as we shall see, had been under strong pressure from parents, had successfully opposed John's and Ken's pressure for them to meet with parents, and substituted a planned written report describing the work in each pod. Neither they nor Ed wanted to disturb the situation, or have the questionnaire interfere with their own efforts. Angela Fiori and Sandy Mikva (and George and Ed) reviewed the questionnaire, and made some strong criticisms of it. When Miles accepted these, reminded everyone that only a 1/3 sample of parents would receive the mailing some time in mid-June, and suggested that a general feedback not be done, but that single copies be placed on file in July with each principal available for parent review on request, there seemed no objection to proceeding. In effect, these measures served to restrict data feedback to parents; Miles, whose objective was mainly to get a valid measure of parent opinion, allowed himself to be coopted, and accepted the principals' effort to minimize the possibility of parent criticism.

By May 27 the teacher data were processed, and Miles and the two principals were to review the frequences for each school.

In the rap session that day Ken, with John's active support, proposed that the data be discussed in meetings in each school:

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32) We should note that about this time George said he had received a job offer from a neighboring district. Two Board members treated him to lunch, asking him not to leave, and he agreed, seeming to believe that upward mobility or at least a salary improvement might be possible for him in the district. So the questionnaire data might endanger such hopes.

It could be a kind of stocktaking, how is it going, where are we going with open education?

Ed: No.

Ken: You could go over the data that's available, and you guys talk with the teachers.

George: You and John could come and do the talking. No, I don't want a faculty meeting where John Manganaro will infect my teachers with openness.

Ed: I don't think I need that kind of meeting.

George: A meeting like that is like going through a patch of poison ivy and looking under each leaf.

Ken: Well, behind your laughing are some true feelings.

With this acknowledgement of the principals' resistance to the idea of a meeting to discuss the data summary, Ken backed off, and Miles, Ed and George sat down to review the summarized frequencies for each school. The fate of various items is instructive. At George and Ed's request, the data on perceived problems facing each school were not fed back at all, even to Ken and John, though they might have been useful in guiding problem-solving and planning efforts -- presumably because they might make either school "look bad". And data on the degree to which "open education" was actually being implemented in each school, and on how decisions were made actually and "ideally", were lumped to make cross-school comparison impossible. The "open education" data, once they were leaked outward to parents, a process expected by the principals, could presumably make life difficult. And the decision-making data might well, it seemed, suggest that the two principals' handling of power differed in some invidious way. George and Ed requested that they personally receive a copy of a data summary on how teachers saw the principal's style, but that these data not be fed back to teachers; Miles complied.[33] The data were prepared in school-specific "packages", which were given to each school's staff on June 16. At Ed's and George's suggestion, the packages were also given not only to Ken and John, but to Mr. Bond and the Board, so as to forestall negative reactions to "leaked" results.

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33) As it turned out later, several teachers in School 3 told a field worker that George was "upset" because the principal style data showed him to be less supportive than Ed. The data did in fact show this -- but the teachers' knowledge of this could only have come from George himself, or from a lucky guess based on their image of George.

In summary: all the administrators were naturally worried about data feedback at a potentially volatile time as far as community reactions were concerned. In addition, George and Ed were concerned that the data not be used to put either of them at a disadvantage, and avoided having any meeting with the teachers where direct discussion of the data the problem-solving might take place. Researchers and consultants tend to think that data feedback can be useful, but it seemed clear that these managers regarded the idea of increased data flow as something to be warded off. During this period, the administrators had spent a good deal of energy on working with teachers on achievement test-score data, pushed both by the State Department consultant's pressure and by parent questions. But data on how the schools were actually functioning as socio-technical systems seemed much more worrisome, much more to be deflected and defused.

School No. 2. With this review of the district/administrative context complete, we turn back to the course of later implementation events at School No. 2.

By late January and early February, there were signs of increasing stabilization of School 2 as a system. Jane Costanza thought that "things were really straightening out", and said that children's visits to her were decreasing. She liked the climate: "it's warm, of course people have special firends, but there don't seem to be any enemy-type relationships". She also pointed out that the PTA had developed in a supportive way: they put on a fashion boutique to raise money. Joseph Krupcik served as liaison to them and reported that they were thinking of giving each teacher $20 to buy games for children to use during the lunch hour, which was still noisy and difficult in spite of the use of parent aides. The field worker also noted with interest that Krupcik invited teacher requests for magazines, library books and "software" and ordered what they asked for.

The student teacher situation seemed also to be improving. Two who had had difficulty coping with open space did not return for the next semester; Ed specifically requested "better" ones from their supervisor. He got them: she encouraged student teachers to visit the school first, and recommended those who were most in favor of "open education". And one of the more successful student teachers from the preceding semester began working regularly as a substitute.

There was evidence of peer support. For example, in the first grade, when Joan Ratner left for maternity leave, Sandy Mikva and Adrienne Moravia purposely gave her replacement, Janet Schwaber, the best reading group, to make things easier both for her and for the children. Ms. Schwaber, inexperienced in open education, felt pleased by this, and by her teammates' suggestions. Mrs. Ratner, for her part, visited the school a week after her delivery and volunteered to do the report cards, rather than put them on to the new teacher.

There seemed to be cross-pod contact and support as well: Mary Hahn, in the 5th grade, said to a field worker how impressed she was

with the teaching going on in the 4th-grade pod next to her - and that she was sharing a math kit with Angela Fiori in the 6th-grade and was learning a lot from her. Mrs. Hahn had also developed learning packets she and her teammate Barbara Canetto would use over the next couple of months.

One also had the feeling of more pro-activeness and self-support on the part of the staff: Joseph Krupcik was making plans for use of an outside terrace, and one teacher had started using the corridor, and the science room as supplements to the pod when an activity needed quiet.[34] Both Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Viaggio in the fourth grade were taking a TV course on the teaching of reading.

Ed Pallacino, for his part, was spending more time "cruising around the building", the field worker noted, "not to check up on teachers, but to provide support".

There were signs that some of the teachers who had initially been less experienced and interested in open education were beginning to make shifts. Mary Hahn said:

> I'm enjoying teaching much better. The children are just loving the packets. I used to be quite traditional, but now I think what it would be like if [you] yell at your class or tell a child to go ahead when they haven't learned something previously. I never thought it would work, I was so used to teaching the whole class the same lesson and giving them the same assignment, but it [self-correcting learning packets] is working very well. I can't wait to start my science project.

And in the third grade Rita Bonomi too was using individualized packets; though she worried a bit that the children were not learning as much as they should, she set up Friday as "fun day", when children could "do individualized reading, SRA, Junior Scholastic or art and science projects".

The picture was not all rosy; Mary Hahn did not mention the fact that Adele Hoffster was still isolated from her team, and Rita Bonomi and her teammates seemed to be handling reading by simply ability-grouping the children and giving one group to each teacher. Ed worried that the slower children were getting less individualization than the brighter ones. And when on February 23, two experienced open-space teachers came to work as consultants with the first tnad third grade pods, they noted that the first grade team was primarily working separately, with furniture separating the classes, and had insufficient

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34) Ed did not like this, and pointed out to a visiting consultant (who agreed) that she was in effect escaping the need to plan together with her teammates.

experience at, and time for planning together -- and that the third-grade team had "boxed themselves in" with furniture, and (except for Marian Richman) seemed not to be interested in trying the idea of learning centers for independent work by students. "They're going to have to open up more....they're trying," a consultant said. Marian Richman felt gratified:

> He said all the things I've been trying to convince the other teachers to do all year, but he said it so much better. I hope there's going to be some follow-up.

Ed too thought there was room for improvement:

> I don't want to push them too far so they'll be unhappy with open education. But they're aware that it really requires more than they are doing ....they realize that they're not working together closely enough.

The consultants' visit had uneven impact. The first grade teachers seemed to feel quite irritated with their consultant's condescending tone, and said her suggestions (e.g., more use of games, independent activities, learning centers, shifting furniture to enable joint work) were not immediately usable ("There's nothing we can do about this furniture arrangement now", "materials aren't available now.") And a field worker noted that while the consultant was observing the first grade, the teachers acted crossly, making little effort to be "good" with their children:

> Teacher 1: All children have to put names on their papers, and if there are no names, they go in the garbage pail [rips up papers, throws in garbage].
>
> Teacher 2: [Yells at class].
>
> Boy: [to consultant] Would you like to hear me read my sentences?
>
> Consultant: I'd love to.
>
> Teacher 3: [to boy] Come up to the front, you're going to be missing something.

Later, several teachers complained to Ed that the field worker had "bothered" them with questions about the consultant and their reactions. The field worker was indeed eager to get the data, but we infer that the first grade teachers, at least, felt pushed by the whole visit.

The picture in the 3rd grade was different. One teacher, on this

day, tried something quite new: the children were doing their science homework on a large yellow sheet of paper stretching across the room; they cut it up and took their individual assignments home. Another, for the first time, had rearranged children's desks so they faced each other, rather than toward her desk at the front. And the teachers said they found the consultant's suggestions (furniture-moving, more individualization, learning centers) practical and doable.

To Ed, the consultants also criticized the teachers' use of homogeneous reading groups as making for more difficulties in individualization, not using peer teaching possibilities, and as being painful to slower students. Ed said:

> I've never heard the teachers say there's anything wrong with the reading program. Also, I don't think the parents would like it if we changed reading groups in the middle of the year.

There were other stand-offs too: Ed said he could buy the manipulative materials the consultants said were needed, but they said the issue was that teachers needed to know how to use them; the consultants thought the teachers did not want to develop learning centers, and Ed said they did not know how to; the consultants suggested tables and cubbies rather than the crowded desks, and Ed said nothing new could be ordered this year. The consultants said they would be happy to come back, and invited teacher visits to their schools, and Ed said he hoped both could happen but didn't know about budget. No such visits happened; in late May Ed said that with the "controversy" over open education he had decided not to have the consultants back.

The "controversy" began about this time with strong criticism from some parents. As it turned out, their pressure over the next three months did a good deal to strengthen the social system of the school, so we review the course of events with some care. The reader should keep in mind that during this whole period, teachers continued to teach, with what looked like increasing implementation of open education in many cases.[35] For example, Angela Fiori, working alone in the 6th

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35) Field workers needed a working definition of "open education" that would be comprehensive enough to include the more expansive hopes originally held by John and Ken, and the more restrictive version endorsed by Ed and George. We settled on the four dimensions described by McPartland and Epstein (1973):

1. Individualization: the degree to which instructional methods and materials are tailored to the learning pace of the child.
2. Variety: the range of behaviors permitted children in the class.
3. Self-selection: the degree to which children have influence over the classroom tasks they do.
4. Self-monitoring: the degree to which children have influence over the way their work is evaluated, monitored or checked.

Field workers looked for these dimensions, and we also used McPartland and Epstein's Open Education Classroom Climate Questionnaire as part of the teacher questionnaire administered in April.

grade, had by February 24 set up learning centers for science, math, art and reading; much independent work was going on, and the children's desks were paired with those of self-chosen partners so they could help each other. In mid-March the field worker noted:

> Each child was working independently on a different topic. One boy was listening to a tape on estimation in math, another group was working on a science project...Mrs. Fiori walked around from group to group and child to child... if a child has a problem [he or she] puts the problem or their name on the board, and Mrs. Fiori continually glances there so the child doesn't have to sit and wait. No restraint about children getting up and moving..The class was quiet, children were allowed to talk.

About the same time, Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Viaggio in the fourth grade were excited about a project in which subgroups of students bought, made and sold various kinds of food to the class; they were also using a math and science center, were planning a social studies and an art center, and had set up an assembly line on which the children produced a car. In Helen Kazantzakis' second grade on the same day, some children were writing script, some working on spelling books, some listening to records with a tape recorder. A subgroup was writing compositions on different aspects of the classroom itself, slef-chosen by children from a list of topics including "independent math", "having different teachers", "what is SRA?" and "how is behavior different this year than last Year?"

In early April, the field worker noted that the book reports children wrote to Mr. Krupcik were quite diverse: some had pictures, others a long and detailed text, and one about a girl was cut out in a gril's shape and had yellow yarn hair attached. On the same day, several of Mary Hahn's 5th grade students (some working on a dinosaur project, some on reading, some independently) came over and asked the field worker what she was doing. When she explained, they grew very interested, and one child said, "We're the only school with open education in Westgate. We're the best."

There were exceptions: when Barbara Canetto left for maternity leave from the 5th grade, her teammates seemed to do little to orient her replacement Ken Mottola, and Adele Hoffster still seemed to be working on her own. It wasn't clear whether the consultants' visit had helped the first grade teachers or not. But in general, increasing implementation seemed to be happening.

With this context, we return to the series of events involving parents (and teachers, Ed, Ken and John). In mid-February, several members of the PTA Executive Committee at School No. 2 came to Ed Pallacino twice and asked that there be a general meeting of the

parents to talk about how things were going in the pods. He vetoed the idea was -- "dead set against it" -- since he feared:

> The parents will say the program is no good and insist that the walls come back and the teachers teach like they did before..the teachers would become very defensive.

According to Ed, the four parents then went to Ken Braun and John Manganaro, who agreed to meet with them and Ed on February 24. Ken's view was that they were not only worried about one grade being "too open" and another not being really individualized, but basically felt Ed was not being responsive to their concerns.

At the meeting, the parents, at least two of whom had had teaching experience, complained about many things:

> The school is a closed institution and parents are not welcome.
>
> Our kindergarten reading program didn't start until February 1, and the other schools started in September.
>
> What's an open space school versus an open school? Which classes are individualized, which grades are open? Why is a whole year passing without changing the program? If you go to the teachers you get specific information on your own child but not broad answers to general questions. I want a progress report on the whole change [but] I don't want the teachers to be defensive.
>
> I observed in School 3. There was a different atmosphere there, it was warm. Here I don't feel welcome.
>
> The kids are marking their ow work. As long as they say they are finished, they are finished... My kids just goof off all week.

John Manganaro took an active role in the meeting almost immediately, summarizing the complaints and editorializing:

> A lot of intelligent people are being left out. The days when parents are not involved in their children's education are over.

He went on to suggest a "general communication meeting" (Ken Braun said he felt Angela Fiori and Sally Soames, the curriculum committee members from the school, would be willing to serve on a panel) and John pressed on enthusiastically about having questions in advance, two hours of

response, parent reactors, and his and Ken's input, even though Ed pointed out that the teachers did not want to have a general meeting: "They said they would feel ill at ease if everyone asked them questions... in front of a whole audience". The discussion returned to criticisms, most of them from one vehement parent:

> Why aren't these teachers competent?..Why are they so defensive? Is the 4th grade going to change, or not? One teacher can't teach 57 kids. Why isn't the 3rd grade open?...We need options for the children -- some flourish in open education and some in traditional.[36]

John, Ken (and even Ed at one point) did their best to explain what was happening, the reasons for the variance in kindergarten reading, the "individual differences among teachers" and the careful checking of work teachers were doing. But even Joan Rosenbaum, an active parent who had been generally supportive, felt irritated:

> Joan: [looking at Ken and John] You know, you are two really smart men.
>
> Ken: Gosh, I'm glad you didn't wait until I died to tell me that.
>
> Joan: But <u>what's really happening</u>?

Finally, after more explanations, she said, "What you really need is to tell some of this to the parents. It's been so comforting". John moved on:

> Let's summarize. First you people will send out the questionnaire. to locate parent concerns Then send it over to Ed and Ken. Ken and I will attend the faculty meeting with Mr. Pallacino. We'll make it less defensive and the questions which arise from that meeting we can base our next meeting on.

The large parent meeting was set for March 30. Ed Pallacino emerged and told a group of teachers in the hall, "We are going to have a parent meeting". The field worker's notes read: "Everyone looked sympathetic".

For March 9, Ed set up a faculty meeting and asked John and Ken to

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36) It is possible that comments of this sort stemmed from the parents' sense that an earlier commitment to provide "options" had been violated. But as we saw earlier, the administrators had hoped to blur this issue rather than making a firm commitment, so it is difficult to tell.

come. But several teachers came to Ed, saying that they knew he was "in the middle" and that they were going to caucus as a faculty prior to the meeting. He tacitly agreed with their strategy. The March 9 meeting, fueled by the teachers' shared resistance, began with some tension: Sandy Mikva said the teachers did not want the field worker to be there, but finally accepted her presence. John Manganaro gave a short speech summarizing the PTA's wish for more feedback, and applied some exhortation:

> The days of no parent input are gone..we all have to learn new skills about sharing what does on with parents..I realize that this is sometimes scary and frightening to teachers..Public meetings are the wave of the future -- there's no more private planning.[37] There's accountability -- teachers are public servants and I am too...teachers have to be more open to dialogues, examine their positions, be more articulate about what they do.

John explained the idea of a panel including himself, Ken and two teachers. When Ken invited teacher reactions, they were swift and strong:

> All the teachers at this school have gotten together. We are very hurt. These women decided we are not open to them and that's not true.
>
> We are willing to talk but they are pressuring us and making us defensive.
>
> It's up to the administration to handle this. We've just gotten our feet wet in this school. We don't know what's going to happen with open education. How can I tell parents what I'm doing today when I change it tomorrow?
>
> We don't want to be on the firing line in a meeting.. If the parents don't know what's going on, why don't they come and ask me?[38]

Several teachers said they could not speak for others (at a general meeting), and when John pressed, he got sharp responses:

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37) This assertion is perhaps more normative than descriptive, if we recollect the events of most administrative rap sessions.

38) It was clear from this and other comments that individual teachers often felt singled out for criticism. Ed noted to the field worker that the open space made it easy for parents to observe different teaching styles. He had already refused three parents' requests for child transfers based on such visits.

> You know, no one has really asked us, and I think that's where the problem is.
>
> We don't like it.
>
> All of a sudden they want a meeting and you are going to have a meeting.

Both Angela Fiori and Nadine Mann told how thoroughly they had explained things to their parents, and given them home telephone numbers. Mrs. Fiori firmly fended off John's effort to get her to be on a panel, and said she agreed with Janne Schweiz's suggestion that a newsletter, responsive to parent questions with pod-by-pod information, be sent out. Several teachers said the complaints were only from a "problem group", a few "head hunters"..four parents are doing this and it hurts that you're supporting them and not us". Then there was an astonishing series of denials:

> Teacher: We heard that people are moving out of Westgate because they are unhappy over open education. We feel bad.
>
> Ken: That's unrealistic. Do we even have open education here? I don't know.
>
> John: What is open education anyway?...I don't know if that is the issue. I think they're just concerned about their kids.
>
> Teacher: You know we are just teachers employed by the system, it's up to the administrators, they set the policy.
>
> Ken: Who told you to be open?

Finally, John suggested that "we should come back in a week or 10 days and we'll work out a solution", and Ed carefully reminded everyone as the meeting ended:

> You know, we didn't commit ourselves definitely to having a meeting on March 30, we just said it was an option.

A week later, several teachers told the field worker they were really pleased with the results of the meeting; at least one of the complaining parents had gotten together with her child's teacher and cleared up many misunderstandings and apologized, and the idea of the questionnaires and newsletter seemed very good. No one thought it was "over", and Ed predicted a meeting would be held -- "not a panel meeting....but the kind everyone wants, and it won't be set up by fear". On March 18 he said the meeting for the 30th had been cancelled, and that he had set

up a committee of three teachers and three PTA people to meet with Ken and John; the larger meeting was now put off until April, "maybe June". In effect, Ed had taken control back from the central office administrators.

On April 1, teachers met with PTA representatives, and told them they didn't want a meeting, or a questionnaire, but would prepare a newsletter, pod by pod, to explain what they were doing. To the field worker, teachers seemed to be feeling it was a "victory"; Sandra Hartmann confirmed that the series of meetings, with the autonomy Ed had provided, had built a strong sense of unity among the teachers.

As Joan Rosenbaum pointed out, however, things were not wholly resolved. A Board meeting was to be held on April 18 at School No. 2, and open education was on the agenda. The administrators expected trouble, and rehearsed what topics might come up: noise, independent work, visual distractions, test results, failing grades. They planned to measure the noise with a decibel meter, reaffirmed that it "was a lie to say that the kids go 2, 3 or 4 days without any kind of checking", said no more students were failing than before, and listened to Ken's reminder that "it's open space, not open ed." Even so, George mused out loud, "It would be nice to come back from vacation and [still] have a job".

On the 18th, about 35 parents came to the meeting; about half of them were from School No. 2. John and Ken began with a general presentation aimed at reassuring parents:

> Ken: It's open space, not open ed....we are trying to develop greater individualization of instruction, especially in math and reading..we are trying to focus in on self-direction...but we are not getting away from the basic instruction. Back to basics through open education is what I'd say.

John supported this, and stressed two main goals: "greater self-reliance, and greater flexibility in grouping". And he minimized the innovativeness of the programs:

> The programs in School No. 2 and School No. 3 aren't really different [from those in other Westgate schools] There are conservative teachers in schools with walls and conservative teachers in open space schools.

They then read a series of questions parents might have about open education and gave brief, crisp answers:

> Q. Pupils don't achieve as well in open ed.
> A. Not true. They do just as well in open ed as in traditional, the differences are affective.

Q. There is an appearance of disorder.
A. Not true. Yes, there is some noise, but it doesn't bother the kids a bit.

Q. In open classrooms you are free to select materials.
A. Not true, there's a controlled choice.

Q. Open ed forces greater initiative on youngsters.
A. Yes, these goals are good for youngsters, it makes them more self-reliant and learn how to learn

Q. It requires more planning time for teachers.
A. Yes, that's true.

When the meeting was thrown open for questions, they came with a rush. Most were very critical:

> There's no central philosophy, there's a traditional third grade, open fourth grade, traditional fifth grade, no continuity...There's furniture all over, the basic behavior pattern is disorganized, my child doesn't learn order...Can the teachers hear with all that noise from the next group?... kids are falling by the wayside...there's no discipline...there need to be more manipulative materials. I had to get a tutor to get my kid's head straight.

Ken and John gave reassuring answers to these questions, and when a father asked how the teachers thought the program was working, said stoutly:

> There are parts that they like and parts that they don't like, but they want to make it work. There are advantages to open ed but they just aren't sure yet.

John invoked the research project's coming "polling" of teachers and parents, and said:

> It will be made public. If there is unanimous rejection, out it would go. We have not stock in open education, though there are advantages in it, we feel, for young children.

Ken supported this amazingly "adaptive" stance by adding: "We don't want [teachers] to go further than they want to go, we are not pushing them". But in spite of these placating remarks, the meeting continued,

full of emotional tension. A mother said:

> One day I wanted to surprise my daughter and also see what was going on. I went into school, it was so noisy, no discipline. Her head was down. I said, "What's wrong, darling, what are you doing? I'm taking a test, mother. A test, how can you take a test with all this noise?" I couldn't even talk to the teacher I was so upset. I went home and cried. What is going on in this school? Why are people putting up with the nonsense?

Accusations and defense continued, and a few minutes later a father said, "I heard the principal was out of touch with the teachers". John countered this, saying that "this principal is really on top, he knows every youngster and every teacher". The tension in the room was high, as a respected parent who had served as a school aide got up. There was dead silence from everyone as she spoke:

> I have had five children in this school. I've known Mr. Pallacino for 13 years. There has never been a time that I've come into his office that I've not been welcomed. I feel I have to defend him. If there is ever a problem he is totally willing to help and suggest things. If you have a problem you should speak to him, you shouldn't speak to this meeting.

This strongly-felt defense seemed to be a turning point; after a few more questions and responses, the meeting turned to other Board business. But the criticism of Ed had strong meaning for teachers: Jane Costanza echoed Sandra Hartmann's earlier comment: the teachers seemed to have "banded together. Rather than pod 1 and pod 3, it's School No. 2 teachers together". One teacher who had been present said:

> I was wracked with guilt, I couldn't sleep because I hadn't said something to stand up for Mr. Pallacino. He's the best principal I've had out of six in nine years. He doesn't have the front that some of the others have...but when I needed help this year he was really there for me.

The meeting also created some anti-administration feeling among the faculty; one teacher pointed out to a field worker:

> There's a mixed message. On the one hand they are saying they want open space and open ed, and on the other hand they are leaving it to the teachers, and if the class is too open that is considered a negative...They are not supporting the teachers... not taking responsibility for their own decisions.

And it also pointed out that Ken and John were rarely at the school, and "couldn't talk with parents realistically about the program because they don't know it themselves".

A county newspaper appeared in early May with a headline, "Discipline is Lacking at School No. 2"; several teachers reported feeling embarrassed and fearful in relation to the community. In any case, they labelled the complaining parents "loud mouths...trouble-makers" and resolutely continued with the "buffering" action they had chosen. There was no general meeting with parents; the newsletter explaining the program in each pod and special program (media center, speech, P.E., etc.) was gradually prepared and finally sent out to parents in early June. It was a nine-page single-spaced document written to put the best possible face on the program:

> As evidenced by various local observers, it seems as if we have met with success this year. The children are happy, doing well in their studies, and learning to work well with their peers (2nd grade report).

and to communicate clear teacher expertise and thoroughness:

> Each week we study one grammatical concept and have a daily worksheet. At the end of the week this concept is tested...we have math workshops on two levels of difficulty...and after-school and before-school clinics for those who are having difficulty...a weekly timed facts test, daily problems on the board.....(4th grade).

The reports also repeatedly stressed attention to individual children's needs, both in the regular pods and in special programs, and pointed out the adverse physical conditions early in the year. Though the first grade report mentioned "learning to live and share in one big space...we all found the children enjoying it", no report used the words "open education", even though the specific activities mentioned included individualized testing, use of learning centers, self-instructional packets, free reading periods and the like.

There were no further parent "explosions" during the spring. A second more-carefully-planned open Board meeting held at School No. 3 in mid-May went smoothly; George Rieger showed slides of what the classrooms looked like in action and fielded questions expertly. And on June 16, the field worker noted that many people -- including, to some teachers' surprise and pleasure, Ed Pallacino himself -- were wearing bright green T-shirts emblazoned with "No. 2 - We Try Harder". A few days earlier, the parents had given a tea for the teachers. Together, they gave Ed a scroll honoring him for his 25 years of Westgate work. Another parent scroll gave the teachers thanks for their hard work during the year.

So external threats were successfully warded off, and teacher morale, cohesiveness, and loyalty to Ed seemed to have increased too. But during this period there were also some worries and tensions centering around transfers for the coming year, which had been in the offing since mid-February.

By March 16, Ed was concerned about how he would handle things. He said to the field worker:

> There are three 3rd grades and two 4th grades right now. That means switches [for next year] ...but who am I supposed to switch?

He pointed out that Marian Richman was new to 3rd grade teaching and could therefore justifiably be transferred.

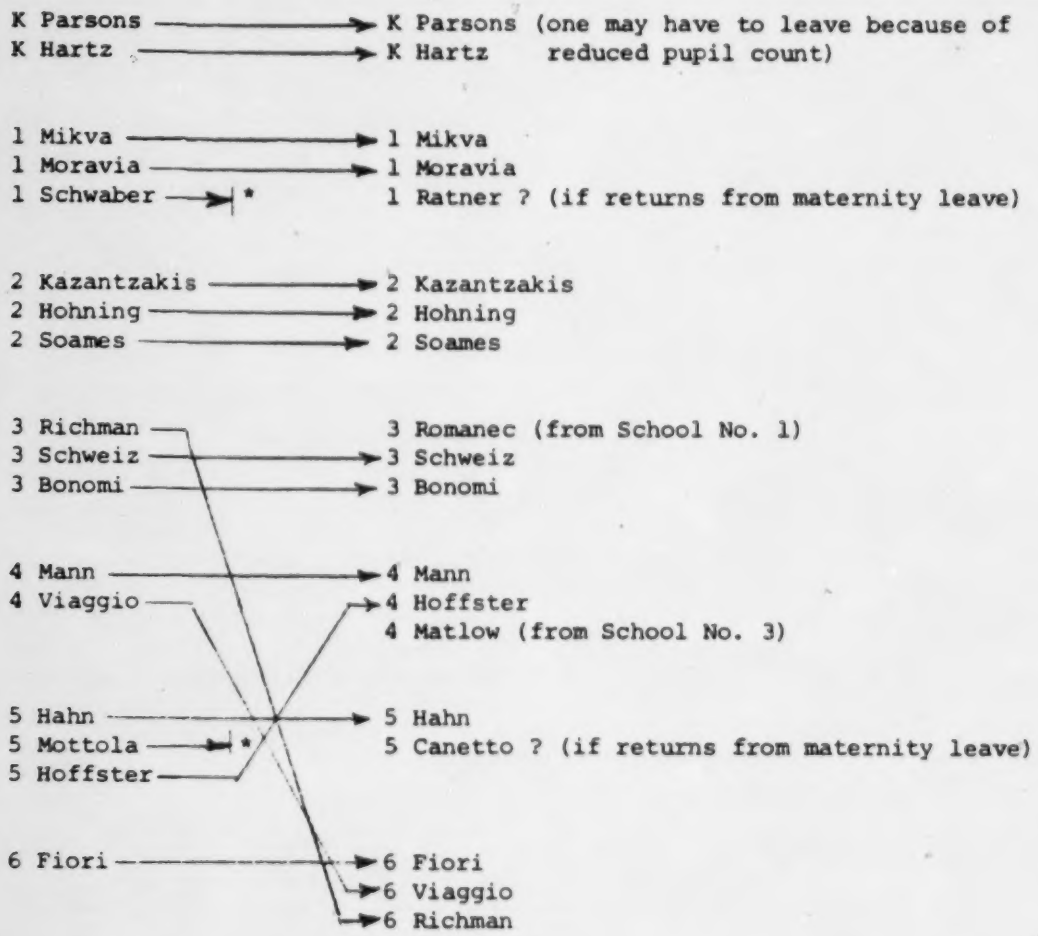
> But she was just switched. What am I supposed to do, switch her again? Again, how can I switch one of the other two? They've had a lot of experience in third grade and they're entitled to stay more than she is. It's a real problem, and I don't have any answers. It's all human relations.

Ed did not seem to be considering other options (such as multi-age grouping, moving a team as a group, or polling teachers to find out who would <u>like</u> to move). He developed some transfer proposals, and went to the individual teachers involved for their reactions. By mid-April he had made some decisions. Ms. Richman would go to the 6th grade, along with Jeanne Viaggio from the 4th grade; Mrs. Viaggio's mentor and teammate Mrs. Mann would be joined by Mrs. Hoffster (shifted from the 5th grade) and a teacher transferred from School No. 3, Florence Matlow). These shifts are shown graphically in the transfer plan (see next page). The plan was not this clear to everyone, and some teachers were quite critical of "the administration's secrecy". Marian Richman said she had asked Mr. Pallacino whether she was being transferred (against her expressed wishes) because of two rather critical parents in her pod. He denied it, but she said, "I don't know what to believe at this point". Preparing for 6th grade work -- new to her -- would take her all summer, and she worried about developing a good relationship with Mrs. Fiori and Mrs. Viaggio. Mrs. Mann, for her part, believed that she and Mrs. Viaggio were deliberately being broken up.

> If someone would give us some communication that our program is not open enough we can modify it, but we would very much like to work together next year, we have a very good working relationship.

However, it appeared the issue was otherwise: Ed explained to her that parents had complained that the 4th grade was <u>too</u> open. As he said to

Transfer Plan, School No. 2



* Non-tenured replacements when original teacher went on maternity leave.

a field worker, he had been "following orders" in allowing all teams to proceed at their own pace, even though the Mann-Viaggio team was "too open" as far as he was concerned. And when Mrs. Mann wrote a dissenting letter to John Manganaro and went to see him, she said she felt the splitting up of the team was a signal for her to retrench. As someone commented in a rap session in late May, "She got the message".*

The shifts in the 5th grade involved Mrs. Hoffster mainly, whom Ed had already physically moved in mid-April to share Angela Fiori's spacious 6th-grade pod, putting Michael Storton's small but noisy special education class in a closed tutorial room. Mrs. Hoffster liked this, and liked the idea of being back in the 4th grade next year, which she had originally requested. From Ed's point of view, she and Florence Matlow, both older and somewhat more conservative teachers, would be unlikely to develop a very open program with Mrs. Mann -- and that was desirable.

In brief, then, the planned transfers left the kindergarten and first two grades essentially untouched, but rearranged all the others, partly as a result of maternity leaves and shifts in pod populations, and partly to ward off the likelihood of "too-open" teaching.[39] Angela Fiori, Marian Richman and Jeanne Viaggio asked for (and got) money for a week's summer planning time, but there was "no money" for the 3rd, 4th or 5th grade pods for summer planning, though Ed suggested they might want to come in for "a day or two", and supported meetings of the new 4th-grade group in May and June.

In many respects, implementation had proceeded and stabilized moderately well at School No. 2. We shall review more-detailed data in a later section: here we might comment briefly on shifts from the early implementation stage (see pp. 76-77). As at that point, the most open programs were in the 4th, 2nd, 1st and 6th grades. The field worker's

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* After reading this study, Ken Braun confirmed the reasons for the break-up:

> The breaking up of the fourth grade team was deliberately done in response to the public complaint that that particular grade level was "too open". The ultimate analysis of the parent complaints at #2 which had led to the planned forum which was ultimately replaced by a newsletter showed that virtually all of the complaints were directed at the fourth grade team and that there was some substance to those complaints. Thus the retrenchment at the fourth grade level was a deliberate response to parent demands.

39) Interestingly enough, teachers being transferred repeatedly said that they liked Mr. Pallacino, and thought he was a good principal. Though one thought the transfers were "preposterous", and two felt very stressed by them, they said "There's nothing I can do about it."

implementation summary in June commented on the 4th grade as "a delight to behold", with close team planning, and many individualized, high-variety activities going on; student selection and monitoring of learning tasks was typical. The 2nd grade "worked beautifully from the start ..perhaps the best-functioning pod in the school", the field worker thought. The 1st grade's progress suffered somewhat from the arrival of a less-experienced, more traditional teacher when the Mikva-Ratner collaboration was interrupted by pregnancy; it seemed that there was less student task selection and monitoring, with task variety existing within a fairly standard, largely self-contained framework (all classes doing math separately and simultaneously, etc.). And as from the start, Mrs. Fiori's 6th grade was vigorously and well implemented, with learning centers, peer tutoring and a wide variety of other individualized activities.

The 3rd grade seemed to have developed more team cohesiveness and mutual liking and used not only ideas from the consultant's visit but some of the ideas Marian Richman had been offering, including learning centers. But student task selection and self-monitoring were still limited except in Marian's class, and teaming did not proceed beyond the original math and reading.

In the 5th grade, after Mrs. Canetto's departure for maternity leave, Ken Mottola and Mary Hahn developed a fairly close team relationship, with Adele Hoffster working by herself -- often with fairly individualized methods and a good deal of variety. Variety and self-selection were also high in the Mottola-Hahn classes.

Finally, the kindergartens continued as independent operations, with much variety and individualization and some student choice of tasks, but little student self-monitoring. Student initiation was rarely encouraged.

As the year was closing, a field worker spoke to Ed in mid-June. He was wearing his School No. 2 T-shirt and feeling gratified by the scroll the parents had given him.

> Even though this has been a demanding year, I think it was a very positive one for the whole staff. No one has requested to leave; in fact, they are all committed to stay, and they like working in this school very much. I think that's something to be pleased about.

So Ed's hopes for a good working climate had, he felt, been reached. And when he spoke of his hopes for next year, he said:

> There are at least five or six children in each grade level who are working a grade level above themselves, and this was unheard of last year... Four pods are doing totally individualized math

> programs, and I hope this will be picked up by the other pods in September. The way the 2nd grade is doing it seems to be a good model. ...I'd also like to see more teaming for next year.

This was the same principal who had admonished teachers in October not to allow children to read far beyond their grade level. So he had learned some things, and the school which had begun in such stress and uncertainty had achieved, to some degree, the hopes of its original planners.

School No. 3. The course of events during the last winter and spring at School No. 3 did not include crises or mobilizations of emotion like those we have been describing. Rather, the general picture looked like stabilization -- indeed, institutionalization -- of the teaching patterns individuals and teams were carrying out by mid-year.

In the 1st grade, for example, Marie Calisi and Alice Scott continued their joint planning, calling their time together "terrific", while Ruth Sefero continued working essentially alone. In the second grade, Carole Duberman said by late January: "I couldn't be happier. We are still working and planning together and things are working out nicely". Even though their student teacher came preferring a "more structured" situation, she had gotten involved with regular planning, and was "a great help". In the 3rd grade, Sharon Giotto felt by late February that "things were going beautifully..nothing to complain about". The field worker noted a good deal of students' helping each other, and the student teacher said the team "basically planned everything together, especially reading".

In the 4th grade, Bonnie Fabrizi, too, said by late February that things were "absolutely terrific"; she and Florence Matlow planned their week together at the start (getting a regular OK from George on their ideas); she too felt that their student teacher, with some help, had been able to move from an initially more-structured stance to something more relaxed and helpful.

In the 5th grade, Marjorie Ross and Joseph Augusto were doing little planning together. He said, "I would have liked to do more, but what can I say? It's OK." He was working with the lower reading groups, she with the upper; for math they "switched", but essentially worked independently.

But with the exception, perhaps, of the 2nd grade pod and the Scott-Calisi partnership, the field worker did not get a sense of vigorous or active implementation of highly-individualized, child-centered approaches. The teachers' comments cited above seemed rather general, more suggestive of their comfort than of active excitement with what they were doing. And as we shall see, some of the "terrific" teams did in fact have internal problems. Beyond this, there was evidence

that some teachers still felt mistrustful of the field worker's presence.[40]

On February 22, for example, Ruth Sefero asked the field worker, who was sitting in the lunchroom:

> Are you taking notes?
>
> Field worker: Yes, I'm just taking notes on who's here. Would you prefer that I didn't?
>
> Sefero: Yes, I would definitely prefer that you didn't.
>
> Jan Starr: How can you make notes if you don't know who I am?
>
> Field worker: Well, I've never met you before, but I assume you're Jan Starr, because I haven't seen you before, and because I think you're usually with Joe Augusto. You're sitting with him now.
>
> Starr: That's really incredible that you should know who I was without ever having met me.

George explained a bit later that day that a couple of teachers had come to him complaining: "They think your role is that of a spy". While the field worker's comment to Mrs. Starr might well have contributed to mistrust, since it implied superior knowledge of the sociometric relationships, it seemed that the issue was more general. As one teacher explained a few days later:

> I heard that the Board could read what you've written any time they wanted to.

When she was reassured that no one but the research team could see the notes, she still felt worried:

> I think people should be able to say [what they feel] without this [note-taking]. Some of us are up against enough as it is.

She did not elaborate on this somewhat cryptic remark, but the flavor was clear; there were difficulties that were best left undiscussed, and probably would remain so.

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40) This access difficulty was exacerbated by staffing problems: the field worker at No. 3 was not able to be at the school as frequently as was the field worker at School 2. The reader will note that the data are thinner, and that somewhat less confidence is placed in some general conclusions.

In a rap session a few days later, George said he was very concerned:

> Spending a lunch hour in a faculty room, taking down every single word teachers say, making a sociogram (I know your name because you're a friend of such and such). Walking down the hall and asking, "What kind of a relationship do you have with the principal, what kind of guy is he?"

Though there are no field notes (or field worker recollections) showing that anyone was ever asked about their relationship with George, he did seem to be concerned about the issue. When Miles, the research project director, offered to meet with the School No. 3 faculty to explain the project more fully (the questionnaire was in the offing), George accepted quickly. On March 11, the day of the meeting, he invited Ruth Sefero in ahead of time to summarize the questions the faculty had for Miles: they included concerns about the funding of the study, whether the field worker was using the staff for a dissertation, whether there was Board permission, and what the product would be. She was surprised to learn that School No. 3 was also being studied, and suggested that that (along with the idea that both the "old" and new parts of School No. 3 were being studied) be made clear. At the meeting with the teachers, Miles explained these matters, and stressed confidentiality:

> Miles: If you asked Dan [field worker] what he thought about what someone else had said, he would have to say "Glumph" [non-response]. If George were to ask him what he thought he would have to say "Glumph". If someone asked him "How am I doing?" he would have to say "Glumph".
>
> Teacher: [laughing] How do you spell that?
>
> Teacher: You'd sound it out.
>
> George: Trust a first-grade teacher to think of that.

There was general laughter, and people seemed reassured; after the meeting a few teachers said they did not mind if the field worker took notes in the teachers' room. But the issue of trust seemed a pervasive one in School 3. Part of the issue, as we have seen, seemed to be that George wanted to be very sure that neither he nor Ed Pallacino would look bad in the eyes of the administration or Board; another part seemed to be George's tendency to push rather than support complaining teachers. And a third part, the field worker increasingly felt, centered around the informal relationships in the school.

He noted as early as mid-January that one sub-group of teachers typically ate lunch in the teachers room; among its members were those who had done most to implement teaming, individualization, and less-

traditional approaches. A second sub-group typically went out to lunch at a nearby diner; it included those most critical of open space and "open education". A few male teachers not strongly aligned with either group typically played pinochle at lunch with George. George acknowledged that he had "camps", and it appeared that the sub-groups were in effect providing a support system for their members' educational beliefs and practices. Though George had begun the year by encouraging team planning and experimentation, and seemed genuinely pleased when more of it took place, by this point in the year he seemed less inclined to provide support for those "pro" open education (perhaps because of the growing community pressure noticeable at School No. 2). There was some evidence that such teachers felt under somewhat more stress as a result. For example, Carole Duberman by late February said that the 2nd grade team had children in nine different reading groups; it had taken two weeks to work it all out. In late March her teammate Mary O'Neill commented that there seemed to be little time for planning:

> We got around to a little first thing in the morning, then a little around lunch, maybe 10-15 minutes. During the beginning of the week we try to get together and say what we are going to do, and get into the optional areas, like Maria is working on the Japanese dance project, and we've been doing games around the world and I've been working on some stuff with feelings.

She seemed to be coping well, and when Alice Scott reported on the same day that she had stayed until 5 setting up some listening centers, and that "we don't have very much time during the day for planning...[but] we do a lot of planning on the phone at night" there was likewise no sense of complaint, only the feeling that there was a lot of work. Neither teacher mentioned support from George.

At the same time, the field worker felt, the "out to lunch" group legitimized and supported its members' doubts and resistances to team planning and individualized work; one of them said in late March:

> Things are pretty much the same. We won't ever become open here, we'll never do any planning. We don't plan together and I don't think we ever will.

The field worker also noted with some interest that persons in special roles (guidance counselor, nurse, librarian) did <u>not</u> seem to be providing much support -- in striking contrast to the situation at School No. 2. In fact there were complaints at more than one rap session that the guidance counselor was not functioning well; they concentrated a good deal of energy on rewriting the system-wide guidance

counselors' job description as a way of evoking better performance from her and others.[41]

Finally, we noted no further instances of the provision of consulting support to teachers. One had the sense that George had backed away considerably from his earlier determination to support teams that were working hard at implementation. On the other hand, he still seemed quite concerned with the fact that the fall test results had come out more poorly for his 5th grade than in the other schools; as we have noted, he pushed quite hard in a mid-February rap session for an in-service course for the four principals.

> Just for the four of us...it would give us more ...we would be able to be ahead of them [the teachers] a little...we would feel more confident.

He also said he had spent a lot of time discussing test results with teachers, class by class and found it valuable. And when Ken and John explained that the reading consultant said the problem was in the upper grades, George said, "No, it's in the 1st and 2nd." Ken said he had heard many teachers were doing most individualization with brighter children, and

> end up putting all the slow kids in [the pod] in one large group of 25 students....If that's the way it's done no wonder there are problems in reading skills. We should make this a major priority, lean on them.

John echoed this:

> Using large group instruction of slow kids is not acceptable. It's really contrary to individualization.

George immediately countered:

---

41) We might note that the guidance counselor was certainly not alienated from the school: in January she spoke warmly to a field worker about School 3:

> The teachers are caring about the kids. It's more open [in comparison to School 4, where she also worked]..more talk among the teachers about the children's problems. It's a freer spirit... The teachers are here to 4:15, 4:30 or 5 P.M. It's a much more helping, more concerned atmosphere.

> It's hard to believe. I have eight reading groups in the 6th grade, five reading groups in the 5th grade, and five reading groups in the 4th grade.

As it turned out, the spring reading tests, reported by Ken in late April, were reassuring: Westgate scored at the 94th percentile statewide (the county figure was 98th); reading scores fared slightly less well than math, but this was true for all four schools. "It is not due to rezoning or the new facilities", Ken's report concluded.

If we recall George's repeatedly-expressed concern about "comparisons" across schools, his earlier admonition to teachers to remember that the issue was "open space" not "open" education, the absence of further consultative help, and his concern with achievement test scores, the inference can be drawn that by the spring of this first year he had concluded he should not press for more implementation. The field worker's notes by late spring read:

> Nobody seemed to see George as fully committed to the goals of open education*....and it appeared by mid-term that there would be no "punishment" of non-teamers, [thus] both high-power and low-power non-teamers felt supported.[42]

Another possible inference was that the primary issue was one of the school's "looking good" in parents' eyes, and making sure they did not

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* After George Rieger read this account, he emphasized his view that the Board had been opposed to open education from the very start -- and that the pressure from Angelino for it (and the cheapness of the open-space facilities) had carried the day for the approval of the facilities. He was thus implying that his own commitments could hardly be "full" under such circumstances. In any case, the Board's purported early opposition is not documented in our other retrospective interviews.

Ed Pallacino's view was that the economy issue was paramount, and that the "open education" aspect had been soft-pedalled ("We got into open education by the back door") in order not to jeopardize getting the new buildings. But he did not emphasize the Board's opposition as George had.

42) The field worker's hunch at this point that the differential power or influence of various teachers in the informal system was making a difference in their implementation (or lack of it).

conclude that team teaching and open space were serving to depress their children's achievement. We should stress, however, that these inferences are not solidly based in field data, even though they seem plausible.

By late March and early April, George, like Ed, was thinking about teacher transfers within and across pods. Next year there would only be two 1st grade classes -- and his view for some time had been that Ruth Sefero "would not make it in open space". And this year's three 2nd grade classes would necessitate another 3rd grade teacher next year. There were other uncertainties; the kindergarten census was still unclear, and it appeared a few teachers would need to be transferred across schools -- one each from No. 1, and No. 4, and two into No. 2.

But it appeared that another factor in George's transfer ideas was the nature of the implementation that had occurred in the various teams. Before we describe the shifts he contemplated, we might review what seems to have happened by this point in the year; the degree of implementation that had occurred by now did not shift particularly during May and June. The reader may wish to refer for comparison to the early implementation summary outlined on pp. 90-92.

In brief, the kindergarten program continued to be run actively and well by Kathy Keaton and Ingrid Teno; they did little planning together.

In the 1st grade, Ruth Sefero continued to teach in an essentially self-contained style; her teammates continued working fairly closely together, though Alice Scott thought that Marie Calisi was "pushing too hard" and said she didn't like being called up at night for planning.

The 2nd grade, said the field worker, was "the best bunch of teamers.....high satisfaction....[he noted that O'Neill and Stazzone, unlike any other teachers, filled out the research questionnaire jointly] ...high individualization, a good deal of variety, and some self-monitored work by children". He also said:

> I was particularly impressed with the way each of them carried out ways of doing things with slight variations that made them individual...each worked out lesson plans that would meet everyone's needs ....in a typical report, it seems that one might have thought of an activity, another figured out how to turn it into a game, and the third wrote it up as a lesson plan.

In the 3rd grade, it appeared that though the program was moderately-well individualized, the team functioning was less than optimal; Helene Pribylski, initially more inclined toward open education than her teammate Sharon Giotto, said she felt some pressure from her to "slow down". Their joint planning decreased, while Ms. Giotto

spent a good deal of time working with the student teacher.

In the 4th grade, though Bonnie Fabrizi and Florence Matlow had initially worked together reasonably well, and did a fair amount of individualized teaching, the working relationship seemed to have become less mutually supportive; Mrs. Matlow, with 20 years of teaching experience, felt some difficulty in joint planning with her less-experienced partner, and felt she was not getting much help from anyone else at the school.

In the 5th grade, though Joseph Augusto and Marjorie Ross divided labor for math and English, they carried out no joint planning. The field worker noted: "The closest they got to it was keeping the partition between the two rooms open". Mrs. Ross had from the start expressed a good deal of reservation about open education, resisted open education, and remained quite distant from the field worker.

The Starr-Jacobucci team working in adjoining 6th-grade classrooms had "partial" individualization, in the field worker's view, and, he thought, some room for child initiative, particularly in Jacobucci's class. And, he said:

> There is mutual respect....when something is interesting, or something is a problem they will go to each other -- but they don't spend that much time together...they have both taught the grade for such a long time that they can comfortably cooperate when it is convenient, but they tend to work separately by choice.

In considering the future of implementation at School No. 3, the field worker noted in summary:

> When I asked people who are pro-open, most said they thought it was probably going to end up less open. People who are anti-open said it's going to end up less open because the parents are going to push. It's like the anti's are wearing out the pro's...and No. 3 will be a nice school in the suburbs [but] far from the experimental place it might have been.

With this background, we return to the question of the transfers which were being contemplated by late April. The reasons for the various shifts were not all clear to the field worker; here we explain those that were, and mention the others. The transfer plan changed several times, but by the end of April had stabilized approximately as shown in the chart on p. 134.

George decided to move Ruth Sefero into an old self-contained classroom, since it seemed very unlikely that she would want to team

Transfer Plan, School No. 3

K Keaton	K Keaton
K Teno	K Teno
1 Sefero	1 Sefero (1st grade to move to old self-contained special education room)
1 Scott *	1 Madison (from School No.1)
1 Calisi	
2 Duberman	2 Duberman
2 O'Neill	2 O'Neill
2 Stazzone	2 Stazzone
3 Pribylski	3 Calisi (3rd grade moved to old 1st grade pod)
3 Giotto	3 Giotto
	3 Marburg (from supplemental teacher position)
4 Fabrizi	4 Fabrizi
4 Matlow **	4 Pribylski
5 Ross	5 Ross (5th grade moved to old 3rd grade pod)
5 Augusto	5 Augusto
6 Starr	6 Starr (6th grade possibly to move to a pod but uncertain)
6 Jacobucci	6 Jacobucci

* Requested move to supplemental teacher position
** Requested move to School No. 2

with anyone, in his view. His original idea had been to staff the other 1st grade with Ms. Marburg, a supplemental teacher. But Carol Madison, a teacher George accepted from School No. 1 for the 4th grade, preferred a 1st grade spot and successfully negotiated this with him. Alice Scott had been given the choice to go with Ruth, but chose instead to become a supplemental teacher. Marie Calisi, with least seniority, had little choice and went to the expanded 3rd grade.

The Pribylski-Giotto team was also broken up. Like Calisi, Pribylski had experienced some pressure from her teammate to "slow down"; we do not know whether George applied pressure one way or the other, though he prided himself, as we have seen, on having overcome her "dictator" expectations toward him. In any case, Pribylski too had less seniority, and was shifted to the 4th grade to fill the spot left vacant by Florence Matlow's wish to be transferred to School No. 2. Between the lines, the field worker gathered that Mrs. Matlow, an older teacher, had not only had some difficulty in working well with Bonnie Fabrizi, but felt at loggerheads with George, and somewhat isolated from other teachers in the school. She sought Ken Braun's advice, and he supported her decision to transfer.

The kindergarten, 2nd, 5th and 6th grade teams would continue. It is not clear why George moved the Ross-Augusto 5th grade to a pod; perhaps he felt they would be more likely to plan together than they had so far; there was a similar possible move contemplated for the 6th grade team.

The net result of these anticipated transfers would be to break up one reasonably good partnership (1st grade), and two other teams (3rd and 4th) where moderately good implementation had occurred. The effectively-implementing 2nd grade team would continue, as would the traditionally-oriented 5th grade pair (but in the pod space) and the somewhat less-traditional 6th grade team. Except in the case of the 2nd grade team, then, the effect tended in the direction of breaking up moderately-implementing teams, and retaining the less-implementing ones intact. It seemed that George's doubts about open education (as contrasted with "open space" education) had come into play along with the purely logistical considerations involved in the movement of cohorts of children from grade to grade. But the exception is important, and we cannot be sure of this conclusion.

On April 25, the teachers met in the gymnasium to fill out the research questionnaires; the session moved smoothly without difficulty. Perhaps it said something about George's style that he had arranged rows of tables and chairs for the occasion, while Ed had seemed easy with the idea that teachers would simply come to the carpeted mini-theater, and had no objection to their filling out their answers in various pods around the school.

On May 16, the Westgate Board was to hold another regular meeting, this time at School No. 3. As in April, open education was on the agenda. But this time the rap session planning had been even more careful. By

April 22, Ken, who said "my brains really got beat in" at the April 18 session, reported that George was busy taking slides of classroom activities in both Schools 2 and 3, and would give a presentation like the one he had just recently given his own PTA. Then there would be questions -- and newly-retested math scores would be available for the parents as well: "maybe it's defensive ball, but it will counteract the claim that 4th graders aren't learning anything". And at the May 12 rap session, there was a careful review:

> John: How many slides do you have?
>
> George: 87.
>
> Ed: That's too long.
>
> John: Why don't you do a dress rehearsal and time it? Use the two projectors. I'll flash one, then you flash one.
>
> Jim: [grinning, to George] I passed by some of your parents in the crafts room. They were making two life-sized crosses. What do you think they were for? Anyway, you'll be standing up there, like in front of a firing squad.
>
> John: Hmm, maybe we could put Miles and [a field worker] to stand in front of you... I hope you will all be fast on your feet.

In any case, the planning, and George's ease and fluency with parents (Ken once said,"If anything, George over-communicates with parents") paid off; the slides provided concreteness, and the few parent questions were smoothly disposed of, even though there were more than 60 parents present. George led the meeting skillfully and firmly: at one point parents were talking to each other underneath the public presentation, and he said:

> Now, children in the back of the pod come to order! [Laughter] You people are noisier than your children! This is a good example of open education: we have a learning group, a coffee group, and another work group. Many activities are going on, and so is learning.

People seemed to like this sort of joshing acknowledgement of their reservations, along with the expertise implied in the confident parallelism proposed between what was happening in the meeting and what their children were supposedly doing. There was no resurgence of the sort of complaints that had made the meeting a month earlier so emotional. (And, as we have seen, the most militant of the School No. 2 parent critics had clarified their "misunderstandings" with the teachers involved.) A

newspaper article following the meeting was quite favorable. The year in School No. 3 was also winding to a close. One had the sense of a more divided and less supportive climate than in School 2. There seemed little change in the "camps", or in the flavor of mistrust noted earlier. Somehow working relationships did not seem optimal.

Still, the year had gone reasonably well: parents seemed mostly satisfied with the school; there had been no internal crises; and the learning environment provided for many children had become somewhat more tailored to their needs, more diverse, and a bit more responsive to their initiation. And when George received a job offer from a neighboring district, and was invited to lunch by two Westgate Board members who wanted him to stay, he returned carrying a cardboard heart with the words "Be Nice" lettered on it, and said he was not going to take the other job. Earlier that day there had been discussion of possible job openings in the central office, and Miles asked:

> Would you take that kind of job if one opened up?
>
> George: Yes. Does that surprise you?
>
> Miles: It seems that you're having a lot of fun in your present job.
>
> George: I have fun in whatever job I have.

That self-characterization seemed accurate, and it also seems fair to say that this principal's "fun" -- his joking, his active problem-solving, and steadily pro-active stance toward the management of a partially redesigned School No. 3 -- had supported more implementation than the researchers would have predicted a year earlier.

The State of the System

Once again, before proceeding to analysis and commentary, we need to assess how far implementation had proceeded toward "success". To do this we will add to the qualitative summary above a range of data from the questionnaires filled out by teachers in late April, and a sample of parents in mid-June. Nearly all of the school staffs -- 45 of 46 in School 2 and 44 of 45 in School No. 3 -- responded. Of a one-third sample of parents in each school, there were 44.5% returns in School 2, and 36.5% in School 3. We suspect the parent return rate is a function both of the lateness in the school year and of the usual variation in parental interest in school matters.

We will not make an exhaustive summary -- the teacher questionnaire had 45 pages and the parent one nine -- but will report data that seem most illuminating -- including the results on (1) implementation of open education; (2) general assessment of the school by parents and teachers; (3) goals and goal achievement; (4) relations with the

environment; (5) teacher satisfaction and morale; (6) organizational features including climate, communication, norms, problem-solving and decision-making; (7) helping and support relationships; (8) the principals' leadership behavior; and (9) other assorted factors that might help to explain implementation differences. The summary tends to focus on data which differentiate the two schools, in the belief that deeper understanding of new-school planning and implementation issues will result; we will try not to obscure, however, the important similarities across Schools 2 and 3.

1. Implementation of open education. As indicated earlier, we used the McPartland-Epstein Open Education Classroom Climate Questionnaire (1973), measuring the dimensions of individualization, task variety, task self-selection by students, and self-monitoring by students. An overall index of the 18 items had a mean of 54.1 for School 2, and 47.4 for School 3, a difference significant at the .05 level.[43] Such numbers mean little, however, so Table 1 summarizes some of the more salient differences between the schools.

It seems clear that more teachers in School 2 than in School 3 had high-variety, individualized classroom environments that supported student initiative. (Even so, note that the implementation is "full" in neither school: the bulk of students do not get a daily progress review, and even in School 2 a third of the teachers report whole-class teaching as typical. In neither school does there seem to be strong self-monitoring by students, though the somewhat unusual two-week time frame of the question makes this conclusion shaky.)

Some other items also bear on implementation of open education. For example, 53% of School 2 teachers said they favored "open education" strongly or quite a bit, and 42% of School 3 teachers felt this way. Only 19% of School 2 teachers said their teaching was not "open education", compared with 31% of School 3 teachers. Other indices of implementation are shown in Table 2. Here too we see evidence of a greater degree of change, planning energy, and coordination in School 2. Note, however, that School 3 teachers are more likely to feel that their school has stabilized, and has turned out well in relation to expectations; when we note that School 2 teachers say there is not enough planning time, the inference is that they are somewhat more stressed as they carry out their somewhat more demanding implementation tasks.

Finally, 60% of the parent sample at School 2 said the way their children had been taught this year was different from last year; only 48% of School 3 parents said so. All in all, the evidence is for a fuller implementation of open education (considering it to involve individualization, team planning, etc., and considering it to be a

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43) These figures were for 33 teachers at School 2 and 32 at School 3; non-teaching personnel were not included, but special and supplemental teachers were.

Table 1

IMPLEMENTATION OF OPEN EDUCATION

	School 2	School 3
Many lessons and activities are going on in class at the same time. (always or often)	74%	44%
Students may move about the room without asking permission (always or often)	66%	42%
Students are given several alternative assignments from which they can choose the ones they want to work on for that period. (always or often)	38%	17%
Is the whole class usually taught the same lesson at one time? (yes)	31%	47%
If students work slower on a lesson than some other students, they can continue to work on it while the others start a new lesson. (always or often)	72%	35%
Students may ask other students to help them with their work. (always or often)	66%	48%
In most classes students are told specifically what they should work on each day. (always)	32%	60%
If students think of something to do that is interesting to them but unrelated to classwork they may work on it during class time. (always or often)	36%	10%
There are many opportunities for students to work on their own for two weeks or more before checking with a teacher. (always, often)	3%	11%
How often, on the average, do you get to meet individually with each student to review his progress? (every day)	37%	10%

Table 2

ADDED INDICATORS OF IMPLEMENTATION

	School 2	School 3
Has your teaching changed from the way you were teaching last year? (a great deal or quite a bit)	47%	30%
Planning is taking (much or somewhat) more energy this year than last.	74%	45%
How much time do you usually spend <u>together</u> in planning with your team or grade level group? (an hour or less)	37%	55%
Though teachers work near one another, I feel as if I am on an island by myself. (always or almost always)	21%	32%
Is the amount of planning time provided (too little)?	45%	29%
In reading instruction, do you usually take students from each others' classes (rather than teaching classes separately or teaching the entire pod)?	79%	54%
This school has settled down pretty well. (agree or strongly agree)	62%	76%
This school has turned out better than expected. (agree or strongly agree)	41%	51%
Students like this school. (agree or strongly agree)	74%	79%

departure or change from previous patterns of instruction in Westgate) in School 2.

2. General assessment of the school. Another set of items asked both parents and teachers how good a job the school had been doing at various points, including in the first month or so, by Christmas time, and "right now". Fig. 1 shows the results for those believing the school was doing an outstanding or very good job, and Fig. 2 those rating it as fair, rather poor, or extremely poor.

Interestingly, teachers' views seem more extreme, perhaps because they are closer to the stresses of implementation. In comparison with parents, more teachers are critical and fewer are laudatory at first; then things are seen to improve considerably by Christmas. The parents' views are more stable. Note too that more parents in School 3 believe the school is doing well (a finding which fits well with George's reputation for good work with parents, and the difficult meeting at School 2).

Other data are shown in Table 3. The picture suggests more convergence: parents and teachers do not vary widely in their assessments, except for the School 3 teachers' more positive estimates of teaching quality. Here again, School 3 gets a better press from parents.

Table 3

TEACHER AND PARENT RATINGS OF SCHOOL AND TEACHING QUALITY

	School 2		School 3	
	Teachers	Parents	Teachers	Parents
All things considered, how do you feel about the school so far? (very or quite pleased)	51%	45%	54%	59%
All things considered, how do you feel about the school so far? (somewhat displeased, not too pleased)	13%	20%	7%	8%
The quality of teaching that the children generally receive from this school is (outstanding, very good, good)	77%	73%	98%	86%
The quality of teaching that the children generally receive from this school is (rather poor, extremely poor)	4%	7%	0	5%

Fig. 1
CURRENT AND RETROSPECTIVE RATINGS:
HOW GOOD A JOB IS THE SCHOOL DOING?
(Percentage saying outstanding or very good)

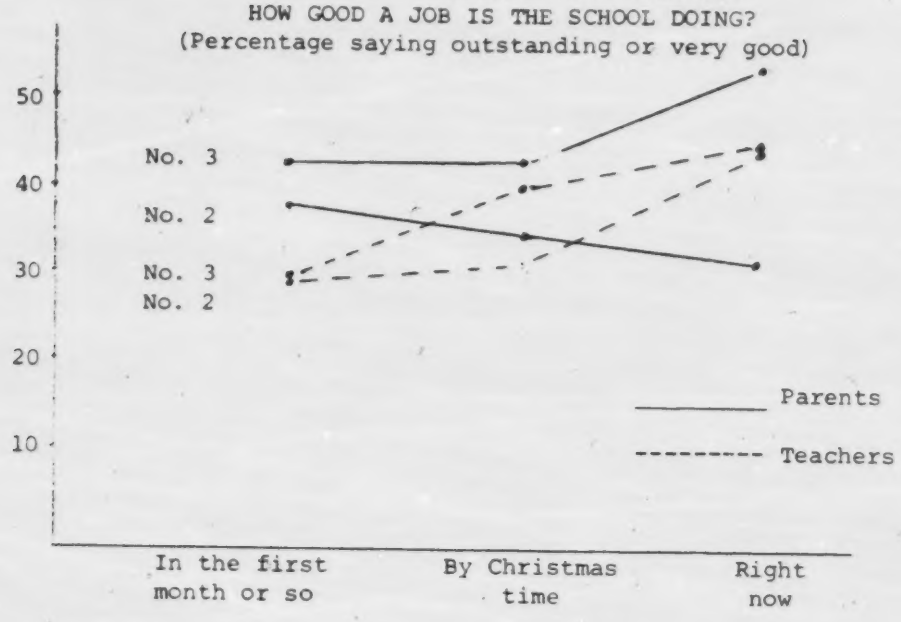
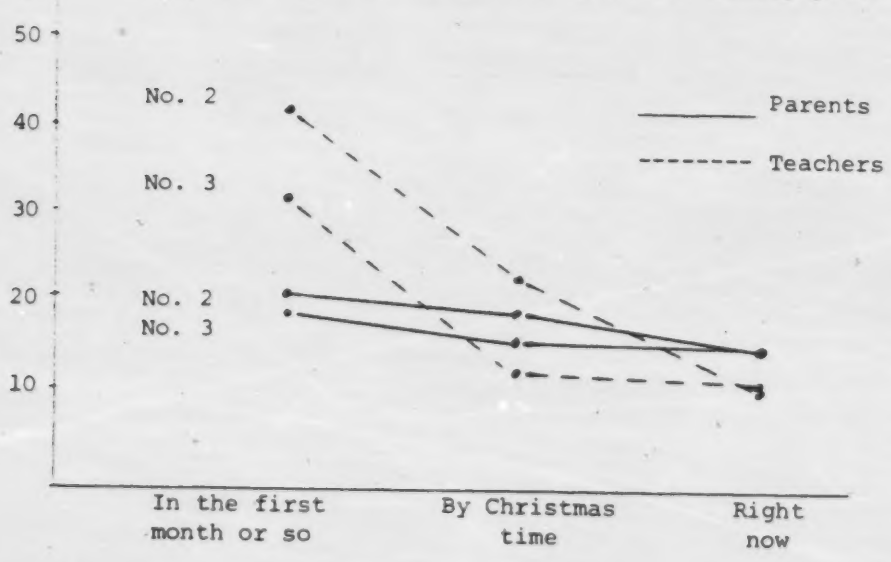


Fig 2
CURRENT AND RETROSPECTIVE RATINGS:
HOW GOOD A JOB IS THE SCHOOL DOING?
(Percentage saying fair, rather poor, extremely poor)



3. Goal achievement. The questionnaire also asked for endorsement and achievement ratings on a number of goals for the school; the items were parallel to those collected slightly more than a year earlier from the administrators. The goals perhaps most centrally related to open education, together with their endorsement and estimated achievement ratings, are shown in Table 4. The figures are percentages of the total agreeing or strongly agreeing.

Table 4

ENDORSEMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT OF OPEN EDUCATION-RELATED GOALS
(AS SEEN BY TEACHERS)

	School 2		School 3	
	Endorsed	Achieved	Endorsed	Achieved
To provide a variety of learning environments and activities	97%	75%	97%	79%
To provide personalized and individualized programming and instruction	93%	58%	82%*	65%
To try out innovative uses of space in the educational program	88%	48%	90%	64%
To enable teachers to feel less isolated in their classrooms, to feel more cooperative	90%*	62%	87%*	50%
To teach students to set their own goals and impose their own deadlines	65%	76%	50%	29%
To utilize different ways of grouping students, in addition to/ in place of traditional grade distinctions	59%	40%	80%	30%

* Expected initially by principal to be given "high priority".

Here there are few differences in endorsement or achievement between the schools on the issues of variety and individualization. And School 3 staff believe that more has been achieved in innovative uses of space. There are clear differences in the self-goal-setting issue, which is less-endorsed and less achieved in School 3: it will be recalled that George "had doubts" about this goal initially, while Ed supported it.

And student grouping innovations, while more endorsed in School 3, are less achieved there.

We should also refer back here to other goals that each principal thought would be given high priority when he was asked about them in February of 1976. (See pp. 45-48).

Table 5

ENDORSEMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT OF PRINCIPAL'S HIGH-PRIORITY GOALS
(AS SEEN BY TEACHERS)

	School 2		School 3	
	Endorsed	Achieved	Endorsed	Achieved
To aid the development of students into mature, healthy and stable adults.	98%	72%	95%	65%
To improve learning opportunities for gifted and talented children.	--	--	95%	31%
To provide a good learning environment for low-motivated kids with poor basic skills.	--	--	98%	61%
To be a place where students would like to be.	96%	76%	--	--
To teach students the basic skills.	100%	82%	--	--
To foster an atmosphere of trust between adults and children.	98%	62%	--	--

On balance (with the exception of George's expectation on the gifted-talented goal), the endorsement rates -- and the achievement rates -- of goals the principals expected would be given high priority are higher than open-education goals not so endorsed (see Table 4), as might be expected. We might note too that another goal: "To be a place where everyone succeeds", a goal strongly supported by Ken and John -- but not expected to be given high priority by Ed and George, was endorsed in School 2 at 90% and achieved at 41%; in School 3 the figures were 80% and 36%. The picture for "increasing students' feelings of self-acceptance and self-esteem", another goal favored by the central office

men, but not of high priority for the principals, was more positive; it was endorsed in School 2 by 98% and achieved at 61%; in School 3 endorsement was 93% and achievement 68%.

4. Relations with the environment. Seen from inside the school, recent school-community relations over the past month or two were quite poor for School 2: only 13% of teachers characterized them as positive, 48% said "somewhat" negative, and another 24% said "quite" or "very" negative. In School 3 the picture was much more favorable: 64% said they were positive and only 14% said relations were somewhat negative, and 2% said they were "quite" negative. The "crisis" meetings were clearly in School 2 teachers' minds when they answered.

But the actual picture for School 2 was certainly not this gloomy. As we have seen above, nearly half of the parents sampled thought that both Schools 2 and 3 were doing an "outstanding" or "very good" job and felt "very" or "quite" pleased with the school. The majority of parents at both schools rated the quality of teaching as good to outstanding.

And it was certainly not the case that parents rejected the goals of open education: their endorsement of the open-education-relevant goals we have reviewed in Table 4 above was in general rather similar to the endorsement by teachers: the figures for School 2 for the first five goals of Table 4 were respectively 93%, 88%, 56%, 75% and 73%; for School 3 they were 93%, 82%, 53%, 74% and 59%. Thus parents favored variety and individualization as much as did teachers; they were less interested in innovative space use and teacher teaming, and were actually more committed than teachers to student goal-setting and planning.

Parent-teacher relations were interesting in another respect. The questionnaire asked parents whether they knew of, and whether they approved or disapproved of, a range of educational innovations, such as team teaching, learning centers, self-teaching materials, peer tutoring, parent participation in the school -- and open education itself. Teachers were asked to estimate parents' responses to these questions. In essence, teachers in both schools seriously under-estimated the actual extent of parent knowledge and approval of most of the innovations. For example, in School 2, the mean teacher estimate of parent knowledge of team teaching was 56%; actually 69% knew of it. In School 3 the figures were 54% and 86%. The mean teacher estimate of parent approval of team teaching was 48% in both schools; actually 71% of School 2 parents said they approved of it (that is, thought it was a good method, and should be continued in the school), and 62% approved in School 3. Similar differences were found for the other innovations, suggesting that teachers in both schools tended to see parents both as more ignorant and more critical than they really were.

Knowledge of open education itself followed the same pattern: in the two schools, 84% and 83% of parents said they knew about it, while

teachers guessed that only 52% and 58% respectively did. The picture for approval of open education was similar for School 2, where teachers guessed 38% approval when the actual was 54%. But in School 3, teachers guessed 62% approval when there was only 47%; it may be that George's skills with parents led teachers to believe that parents were more supportive than they actually were. There are some data showing that this may have been the case; 47% of School 3 teachers agreed with the statement "The parents I've contacted feel positive about what we are doing", 35% were uncertain, and only 18% disagreed. The teachers at School 2 were more wary: only 28% thought parents felt positive, 46% were uncertain, and 25% disagreed.

The parents were also not quite so conservative as the faculties often seemed to think: across the two schools, an average of 53% disagreed with "emphasis on time-tested educational methods rather than finding new ways to educate children"; 72% disagreed with the idea that "having to struggle for what you get in life is the best way to develop character"; and 93% agreed that "development of human relations skills should be an important part of school" (87% counted basic skills as most important). There was some traditionalism: 59% agreed that "obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn". But this sample of parents, at least, was not hidebound. And the parents were strongly in agreement (92%) with the idea that "the best school is one that develops the unique potential of each child as a person, wherever that may lead".

It seems clear that communication with parents was somewhat fuller at School 3: 47% said they were very satisfied with the information they got (as contrasted with School 2's 29%). And 67% of parents at School 3 said they had expressed their opinions directly to teachers or administrators at least two or three times; 58% said this at School 2.

Was this "over-communication", as Ken once termed it? It appeared not, if we examine Table 6. It seems clear that the fuller parent contact at School 3 had consequences. More parents saw the principal as "friendly", felt involved, and noted the school's interest in informing them. Buy beyond this, they were more likely to believe that the faculty was creative, innovative, and open to change.*

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* After reading this, Ken Braun emphasized a fact we have alluded to earlier:

> It perhaps bears reporting that parent-school relations would be better at School 3 because essentially the parents and faculty were the same as they had been in previous years while at School 2 two-thirds of the children and the PTA and also the faculty were reluctant transfers to that school. It takes time to build a school's relationship between parents and school, and in fact there has been that kind of relationship with the original #2 PTA, which was now very definitely in the minority.

Ed Pallacino concurred with this assessment.

Table 6

PARENTS' VIEWS OF THE SCHOOL

	School 2 (Percentage	School 3 agreeing)
The principal is friendly to parents at this school.	84%	97%
This school makes an effort to inform parents of school activities.	84%	98%
This school involves parents in the educational process.	53%	69%
The faculty at this school is very open to change.	57%	67%
This school has very creative teachers.	50%	77%
New things are always happening at this school.	38%	62%
This school tries to provide each student with a program tailored to his or her educational needs.	56%	60%

The fact that the last question on individualization comes out so similarly between the two schools suggests that parent-supportive contact at School 3 produced an inflated estimate of the degree of individualization achieved. This speculation is supported by the fact that 60% of School 2 parents said the way their children were being taught had changed a great deal or quite a bit from last year; only 48% said this at School 3. Recall that more School 2 teachers reported change (Table 2), and that teacher-reported measures of individualization were more frequent in School 2 (Table 1).

5. Teacher satisfaction and morale. An over-all index of satisfaction did not differentiate the two teaching staffs. However, there were some specific items showing differences, as noted in Table 7. Note that School 3 teachers felt more satisfied with their students' academic achievement, but that more-personal indices of teacher satisfaction favored School 2.

Table 7

TEACHER SATISFACTION AND MORALE

	School 2	School 3
Compared to last year on the job, how have you generally felt? (much more or more satisfied this year)	54%	48%
How satisfied do you feel with the academic progress of the children you work with (entirely or generally)	73%	81%
Do you feel the work you do is satisfying (entirely or moderately)	92%	80%
I feel productive in this school (always or almost always)	68%	58%
I look forward to coming to work each day (always or almost always)	83%	69%

6. Organizational features. Were the schools different as organizations -- their climate, norms, problem-solving and decision-making methods? It seemed so. For example, we have previously noted mistrust in School 3: on the teacher questionnaire, 20% said the climate was "suspicious" and 13% said it was "not honest". The comparative figures for School 2 were 13% and 8% -- not a large difference, but consistent with the field work data.

Communication patterns differed also: 59% said they felt completely free to express their opinions to their "immediate superior" in School 2; for School 3 only 33% said so. And, respectively, 37% and 23% said their superior was "completely receptive to my ideas and opinions". Ease of communication with the principal was clearly greater in School 2.

When the questionnaire asked about norms in the school, 50% of School 2 teachers thought that it was "appropriate" for a teacher to "push for new ideas even though they seemed vague or unusual"; the figure for School 3 was only 33%. "Disagreeing with the principal when you know more about the issue than he does" was seen as appropriate by 64% in School 2, but by only 48% in School 3. These differences echo those already noted in our field work.

We were also interested in the problems named as most urgent in each school during the year -- and in the mechanisms for their solution. In School 2, the problems named as "serious" or "moderate" by 50% or more included noise interfering with teaching/learning, community dissatisfaction, conflicting parental expectations, inadequate numbers of aides, lunchroom management, and inappropriate type or amount of classroom furniture. The only School 3 problem mentioned by 50% or more was noise. This difference fits with our observations that (1) teachers felt more stressed in School 2 than 3 at a number of points, and (2) George gave very prompt problem-solving attention to issues as they arose.

In both schools, problem-solving was seen as reasonably effective: 60% of School 2 teachers said it was very or somewhat typical for problems to be faced and worked through; 64% said this in School 3. Other typical problem-solving styles were "finding a way around it (64% and 71% respectively) and "explicitly deciding to live with the problem" (51% and 56%). Somewhat less-typical styles were "planning to forestall the problem in the future" (49%, 42%) explicit postponement (42%, 45%) and unresolved argument and debate (49%, 42%). Some of the "good" figures may be inflated: 44% and 52% said it was typical to get expert information or advice, when our field work noted this occurring very rarely. But in general problem-solving seemed moderately well carried out; only 33% in each school said it was typical to deny that problems existed, only 30% and 29% mentioned "drifting, doing nothing"; and only 16% and 21% mentioned "sweeping it under the rug".

Problem-solving mechanisms differed somewhat across the schools: though the frequency of the principal's involvement did not differ, 62% of School 3 teachers said that teaching teams got involved in problem-solving often, frequently, or always; 55% said this in School 3. The respective figures for "the faculty as a whole" were 66% and 41% (which reminds us of the No. 2 faculty's mobilization to ward off parent criticism), and for "individual teachers" 84% and 47%. And while 51% in School 2 said they had some or much opportunity to implement solutions, carry out actions, only 32% said this in School 3. We conclude that faculty involvement in problem-solving in School 2 was more widespread; perhaps George's active style pre-empted faculty action, while Ed's more permissive style gave teachers space to work on issues they were concerned about.

Though as we have noted earlier, decision-making in the Westgate system had tended to be "top-down", the questionnaire did not turn up strong dissatisfaction with the way decisions were made on such matters as instructional methods, evaluation of teachers, and handling of problem children. In School 2, teachers saw their own individual influence over teaching methods as high, and felt that both the principal and teaching teams should have "moderate" rather than their present "minor" influence on such decisions. In School 3, the influence of individuals, the principal and teams on teaching methods was already

seen as moderately high, appropriately so -- but it was felt that "teachers as a group" should influence such decisions more. In both schools, teachers felt that the principal had almost fully decisive influence over teacher evaluations (appropriately so), but felt that the decidedly minor influence of individual teachers, teams, specialists, and teachers as a group should be increased. And in both schools, teachers felt that teaching teams should have more than their present "moderate" influence over the handling of problem children -- a domain appropriately seen as most-influenced by the principapl and by specialists. Thus the general flavor is that teachers regarded the principals' influence on these three decision areas ad legitimate -- but believed that teams and the faculty as a whole deserved a somewhat increased share of the action. In effect, the creation of teaching teams charged with the responsibility of implementing open education may have generated a not unreasonable wish for more authority for them.

7. Helping and support relationships. Our field work concluded that a stronger support system existed in School 2. We shall discuss this question further below, but here we note that such differences did show up in the questionnaire data. For example, 43% of School 2 teachers said they had gotten quite a bit or a lot of help when they faced work problems, and 43% said this was true for when they had felt "personally discouraged, upset or worried". The comparable figures in School 3 were 34% and 31%. Lack of help on personal problems showed even larger differences: only 13% felt this in School 2, while 32% noted it in School 3.

Behavioral norms were at work: more School 3 teachers thought it was "inappropriate" to tell another teacher what you really thought of their work (62% vs. 55%), or to point out others' mistakes (63% vs. 52%) or to ask others for personal support (29% vs. 11%). And School 2 teachers were more likely to "make an extra effort to try and help someone who came up with a teaching problem during a meeting" (67% vs. 47% in School 3), and to "help other teachers with problems they tell me about with students or parents" (79% vs. 64%).

8. Principal's leadership behavior. We asked teachers to respond to several scales developed to measure elementary principals' behavior by Gross and Herriott (1965). Their views of the two principals' managerial support (including such items as "has the relevant facts before making decisions" and "makes a teacher's life difficult because of administrative ineptitude" did not differ. Neither did their views, as a whole, of the principals' "executive professional leadership" (a measure of instructional leadership including such items as "displays a strong interest in improving the quality of the educational program" and "gets teachers to upgrade their performance standards in their classrooms").[44]

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44) However, there were style differences within the scale items: Ed was seen as "always" treating teachers as professional workers by 43%, George by only 16%. On the other hand, George "helped to

(cont'd. next page)

It was on the scale of social support that the two principals differed most. The items are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

TEACHERS' VIEWS OF PRINCIPAL'S SOCIAL SUPPORT

		School 2	School 3
Displays integrity in behavior:	(always)	72%	16%
	(almost always)	17%	25%
Puts you at ease when you talk:	(always)	65%	23%
	(almost always)	17%	23%
Makes those who work together feel inferior:	(never)	65%	26%
	(almost never)	11%	23%
Rubs people the wrong way:	(never)	34%	2%
	(almost never)	34%	23%
Develops a real interest in your welfare:	(always)	28%	16%
	(almost always)	11%	9%
Develops a "we feeling" in working with others:	(always)	26%	12%
	(almost always)	13%	12%

The items communicate stylistic differences rather clearly: teachers were more likely to see Ed as easy, non-superior, and, in effect, respecting and trustable ("displays integrity in behavior"). So it appears that what initially looked to field workers like "laissez-faire" leadership in fact was perceived by teachers as quite supportive. (80% of Ed's teachers agreed that he had "pretty much let teachers work in their own way, without pushing for change; 69% of George's teachers felt this way.)

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eliminate weaknesses in the school" (39% said he always or almost always did this, while only 18% said this for Ed). George, too, was seen as "making teachers meetings a valuable educational activity" frequently or always (39%); Ed was seen this way by only 25%.

After seeing these data Ed explained them by the fact that most of his teachers were "new to my way of problem-solving".

We should stress that George was not seen as "always" lacking integrity (only 7% said this was so), or as always rubbing people the wrong way (only 5% said this), or as frequently making people feel inferior (only 9% said this). Rather, he was less likely than Ed to be seen by the majority of his teachers as epitomizing strong social support. As we shall see the principal's support proved to be a critical factor in aiding implementation.

9. Other explanatory factors. Finally, we noted two other differences between the schools that might have explained differential implementation. It will be remembered that materials availability was an early issue. By now, only 42% of School 2 teachers said materials were quite or very adequate, and 62% of School 3 teachers said so. School 2 teachers were less likely to think the materials were appropriate in terms of the regular curriculum guides (43%) vs. 76% in School 3. Finally, 65% of No. 2 teachers said they had run into materials-related problems; this was true for only 49% in School 3. In School 2, 55% said they had had to seek added materials beyond those routinely provided, and only 43% said this at School 3. So the picture is one of greater implementation at School 2 in spite of inadequate, or inappropriate materials.

We also noted that teachers in School 2 were more likely to agree than School 3 teachers that "teachers were not really well prepared before school opened for teaching in open space" (67% vs. 47%); but somewhat less likely to feel that "many teachers still feel they need consulting or in-service help to do a better job (59% vs. 77%); this echoes our field work finding that there was much more initial difficulty in School 2, along with fuller implementation later. Note that the majority of teachers in both schools, even after a reasonable period of "stabilized" implementation, still felt the need for support.

Implementation success. If we review the quantitative data along with the field work conclusions, some summary statements can be made about the degree to which we might consider the implementation of open education to have been successful in Schools 2 and 3.

In terms of our first criterion, goal-congruence, it seems fair to say that in School 2 there was moderately good congruence with originally-held goals for better than half the grade-level groups. The picture for both in team planning, individualizing their work and using space flexibly, the degree of implementation was less thoroughgoing. On the McPartland-Epstein dimensions, it appeared that School 3 teachers were, on the average, running learning environments that were relatively less full of variety, less individualized, and with less opportunity for student initiation. Here too student self-monitoring was rare.

Our second criterion of implementation success was problem-coping ability. As both the field notes and the quantitative data suggest, the schools did reasonably well on this count. School 2 staff members were more likely to say that serious or moderate problems had existed

during the year -- but such problems seemed to have been coped with reasonably well; in both schools the problem-solving style was seen by teachers as reasonably effective.

Third, were various "stakeholders" satisfied? On balance, yes. The majority of parents ended the year feeling that the schools were doing a good job; only a small minority said they were not pleased. We do not have direct data from students, but three quarters of the teachers testified that "students like this school". Most teachers felt personally satisfied and about half felt more satisfied than they had during their previous year; personal satisfaction tended to be higher in School 2.

Finally, what can we say about student learning -- the bottom-line effectiveness aspect of implementation? As was the case at mid-year, we do not know this with any precision. The teachers' estimates were positive: over 80% said in each school that students were learning basic skills; over two thirds said that students were being aided to become "mature, healthy and stable adults"; about two-thirds said students were gaining in self-acceptance and self-esteem. In School 2, three quarters said students were learning to set their own goals and impose their own deadlines; less than a third said this at School 3. These estimates are not the most solid of data, when we note that the item was phrased as "Our school is achieving (or is on the way to achieving) this goal" -- and when we note that even on the "basic skills" goal, only 26% and 29% respectively agree strongly that the goal was being achieved. Perhaps the most reasonable statement, if we look at the achievement test results gathered in the spring, is that baisc skills learning was not achieved any less fully than it had been in Westgate schools during previous years. The same sort of statement could be made about affective outcomes (maturity, self-esteem). The School 2 faculty's testimony on self goal-setting is probably reasonable in light of their fuller implementation of methods involving student initiative, as noted in Table 1. But even here only 23% agree strongly that the goal was being achieved.

In short, it seems fair to say that the two new schools were moderately-well implemented. They were not deeply satisfying tours de force, not brilliant realizations of a vision -- the vision itself was often vague and conflictful. But they were good enough, so to speak. And it was possible to see clearly that implementation in one of the schools was in fact more successful.

Analysis and Commentary

As before, we need to propose explanations: why did reasonable amounts of implementation occur in the two schools -- and what accounted for the more complete implementation in School 2?

First, two preliminary notes. The question of "actualization" of the two schools is hard to separate from the question of "institutionalization": the things that happened to bring fuller implementation also

served to stabilize it, help it get "settled down". We will discuss actualization and its explanations first, but institutionalization processes were also very much a part of what was happening.

Secondly, it seems clear that the degree of actualization, and institutionalization, of open education in both these new schools was primarily a direct function of what teachers and their principal did. Though central office administrators intervened at first, they soon backed off. And when they attempted an intervention to deal with parent dissatisfaction at School 2, they were in fact resisted. We should also note that as far as we could see the administrative rap session did little to help with actualization. It was a sort of emotional support group for the principals (as witness the banter, griping and occasional praise for each other), and it did a large amount of coordinative and month-to-month planning. But it was quite rare for rap session time to be devoted to the actual issues of implementation.

Actualization. It seems likely that the major force contributing to the realization of open education was the support system that developed --- a system that enabled teachers who needed implementation ideas and assistance to get it. In School 2, the principal was seen as providing social support (as well as managerial and professional support); people such as the guidance counselor, nurse and media specialist supplemented this; and many teachers gave help to their colleagues. The informal support system at School 2 was probably strengthened further by the teachers' mobilization against the pressure Ken and John placed on them to meet with critical parents, and by their taking control of the process through which parental criticisms were buffered and defused. It seems likely, too, that the teachers' involvement in day-to-day problem-solving, permitted and to some extent encouraged by the principal, made for better implementation. The principal's style, in general, was seen as encouraging and rewarding teacher autonomy; that autonomy was used both to ward off parent criticism, and to implement open education more fully.

We should not lose sight, either, of the fact that more of the teachers in School No. 2 came to the school with more experience in, and favorable attitudes toward, open education. And the fact that all classrooms were in open space was a pressure toward team planning. But these "input" factors do not seem to us to explain things as well as the presence of a well-working support system.[45]

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45) In earlier analyses we have commented on another kind of support -- knowledge utilization -- as a factor in aiding implementation. We believe that while the visit of experienced open-space teachers as consultants did seem to advance implementation somewhat initially in School 3, and may have done so for one pod in School 2, the effects in the long haul appear to have been minimal, just as they were for Prof. Orenstein's work.

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At School No. 3, which began with fewer experienced and pro-open education teachers, and a number of rooms which did not "require" team planning, the support system was much less well developed. This seemed in part true because the principal supplied less social support (though his managerial and professional support was very similar to that of the School 2 principal's) and because subgroups developed among the staff, one of which tended to encourage non-implementation of open education by its members. Though the other subgroup did support implementation, it appeared that the principal by the middle of the year was doing little to help them -- and he did little to disapprove the non-implementation by the "out to lunch" subgroup.

The School 3 faculty was somewhat less involved than their School 2 counterparts in active problem-solving; more seemed to devolve on the principal, with whom more than a few faculty members felt somewhat ill at ease. In a sense, the principal seemed rather central, so that the early implementation successes, and the usefulness of the consulting help he brokered then, and the later, less complete implementation were all somehow "his" responsibility. It seemed the case that the members of teaching teams at School 3, after some initial movement toward implementation, backed away from each other and were less mutually supportive than at School 2.

Sociometric data. We can report some quantitative data to illustrate these analytic comments further. First, some findings from the sociometric part of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire provided respondents with a numbered roster of all school personnel, and asked people to reflect on their informal relationships with others and to nominate persons in six categories: those regarded as having the best ideas, educationally speaking; those contacted most frequently on a casual, informal basis; those helpful on work problems; those helpful on personal problems; those most interested in new, innovative educational ideas; and those having most influence in the school.

On the question of support, a feature we have said was more strongly developed in School 2, we noted that on the question of casual, informal

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The other sort of potentially useful knowledge from outside the system, the teacher and parent survey data, not only came late during the year, but was effectively warded off by the two principals, who emphatically did not want teachers to discuss the data, problem-solve issues in it, etc. -- though they were willing to have teachers see a summary report of the results, with some potentially inflammatory aspects removed.

We were not aware of the use of other external expert knowledge as an aid to implementation.

contacts there were 16 people mentioned six or more times by others in School 2; the comparable figure for School 3 was 10. When people were asked "who turned out to be helpful -- really helpful -- when you have a problem with your work and need to talk it over with someone", the comparative figures were in the same direction: 16 people were given at least three mentions in School 2; 10 in School 3. The differences on the item asking "when you have personal problems or concerns, not necessarily connected with work, who would you say is most helpful to you?" were similar: in School 3 seven different people were mentioned at least four times; four were so mentioned in School 3.

On a general index summing nominations on these three items, we noted that in School 2, 14 people received a total of 12 nominations or more; in School 3 only seven people did. Thus, in general, the sociometric data show that more people were seen as providing help -- support -- to their colleagues in School 2 than in School 3.

We have previously commented on the School 3 principal's centrality; he was nominated more frequently than anyone else as a source of both work and personal help, and tied for second place as a "casual contact" with four teachers. On the over-all helping index he ranked first.

The School 2 principal, though mentioned more frequently than anyone else as a source of work help, received few nominations for "personal" help, a dimension on which seven teachers outranked him. And on casual contacts, there were 12 teachers mentioned more frequently. As a result, on the over-all index of helping behavior the School 2 principal had three staff members who outranked him. This reminds us of the field work finding that a number of strongly-supportive staff members were helpful to their colleagues at School 2.

The field work also found that there were subgroups in School 3, one generally supportive of open education and efforts to implement it, and the other generally anti. The sociometric data tend to support this conclusion. The members of the "out to lunch" subgroup tended to mention each other more frequently as casual contacts than they did other faculty members. Of eight people so defined, only one ranked high (top quartile) on the index of helping behavior; none were in the top quartile on having "best ideas" on educational matters, and only one was mentioned in the top quartile as being "most interested in new ideas". However, four of the "out to lunch" subgroup were mentioned in the top quartile as having influence, carrying weight. Looking at the other side of the coin, only one member of the faculty subgroup which was generally supportive of open education was mentioned in the top "influence" quartile. The field work conclusion was that this subgroup served to reinforce its own members' resistance to open education implementation. But the sociometric data suggest something more: the subgroup was seen as influential more generally by other faculty members, and its members may thus have slowed down others' implementation as well.

Both principals were also seen frequently as being among those who "had the best ideas to contribute on educational matters (methods, curriculum philosophy, discipline, etc.): the School 2 principal ranked second among the faculty and the School 3 principal was tied for 3rd place. But when it came to mentions as being interested in "new ideas on education (innovations non-traditional ways of doing things, alternative approached)", the School 2 principal tied with several teachers for sixth place, while the School 3 principal was mentioned less frequently, ranking twelfth. This finding is congruent with the field work finding that the School 3 principal seemed less committed to open education, and did less to support teachers implementing it than the School 2 principal.

Path analyses of the support system. A second set of quantitative data is that organized by Galanter (1978). She developed a theory of implementation anchored around the idea of a "support system". It contained three major independent variables: which were measured by scales drawn from the teacher questionnaire administered in April:

> Helping disposition (the tendency of teachers to be helpful and supportive to others) (Severy, 1975)
> Helping norms (shared ideas that asking for, and giving help were appropriate (Miles, et al., 1973, pp. 60-62)
> Principal support (the principal's managerial, professional and social support, taken as a whole) (Gross and Herriott, 1965)

She believed that "helping disposition" and "helping norms" would be related positively, and that they and the principal's support would in turn be related to how much actual help teachers gave each other, and received. The questionnaire also provided indices of these variables.

Finally, she predicted that the reception of help would in turn lead to fuller implementation of open education (as measured by the McPartland-Epstein scale), and to greater job satisfaction (as measured by questionnaire items drawn from Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958).

Galanter then carried out path analyses to test her causal model. Summarized versions of these analyses are shown in Figs. 3 and 4.

Fig. 3, for 33 teaching staff in School No. 2, clearly supports most of Galanter's predictions. Specifically, those with a helping disposition were also more likely to believe that helping norms existed in the school. And teachers who typically liked to help others, and who felt the principal was supportive did in fact give help to others. Teachers who felt the principal was supportive received help (not only from the principal, we should emphasize). Those who saw helping norms in force also tended to receive more help.

Finally, teachers who received help when they needed it implemented open education more fully, and were more satisfied.

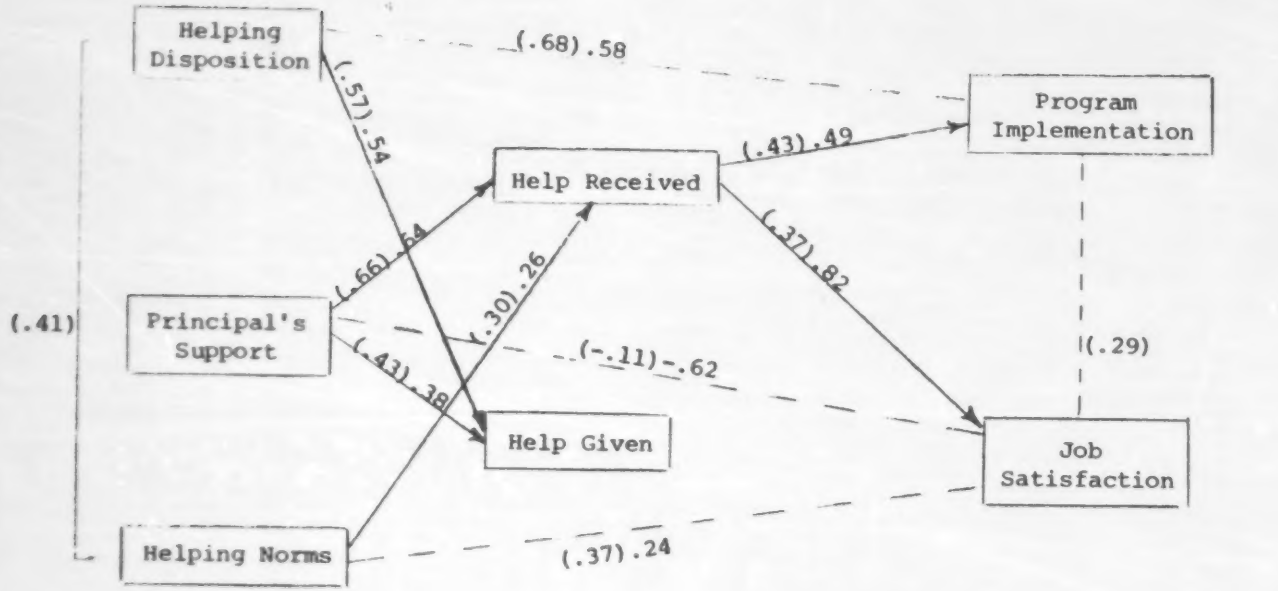

Fig. 3

SUMMARIZED PATH DIAGRAM: FACTORS AFFECTING IMPLEMENTATION AND SATISFACTION IN SCHOOL No. 2

The figures in parentheses are zero-order correlations (r), and those without parentheses are standardized regression coefficients (beta weights). Coefficients under .20 are not shown.

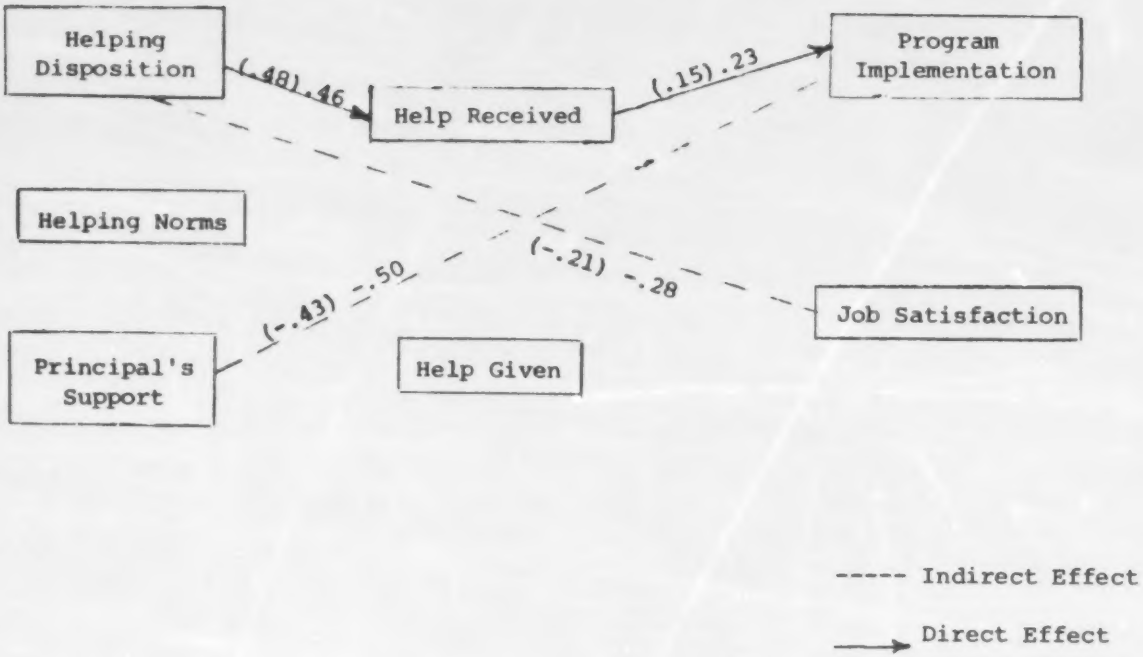

Fig. 4

SUMMARIZED PATH DIAGRAM: FACTORS AFFECTING IMPLEMENTATION AND SATISFACTION IN SCHOOL No. 3

The figures in parentheses are zero-order correlations (r), and those without parentheses are standardized regression coefficients (beta weights). Coefficients under .20 are not shown.

There were some indirect effects, not predicted by Galanter's theory: teachers who felt it was appropriate to ask for and to give help (saw helping norms in force in the school) were also more satisfied; teachers with a helpful disposition tended to implement more fully.[46] Note, too, that high implementers tended to be more satisfied. The general picture is of a fairly closely-knit system, where most of the support system variables are closely related to each other, and to implementation and satisfaction; things work.

The reader may argue that this set of findings is "obvious" or tautological -- of course those who like to help will give help, of course the principal's support is crucial, of course those who get help will implement better. But a look at Fig. 4 shows us that the School 2 relationships were not all that "obvious". Fig. 4 is dramatically different. It does not look at all like a closely-knit support system. Among the 32 teaching staff in School 3, those with a strong helping disposition tended to receive help from others (though in fact they tended not to give it, presumably because they did not feel it appropriate to do so). Note also that "helping disposition" is negatively related to satisfaction.[47]

When people did receive help, it did aid implementation (but the relationship is much weaker than in School 3). And something else was different here: the principal's support was negatively correlated with program implementation. An examination of the scatterplot showed that the relationship occurred largely because teachers who implemented open education fully felt that the principal provided little support, a finding consistent with the field work data during later implementation. It is significant, too, that there is no relation between how much a teacher implemented open education, and how satisfied she felt. In short, there were no emotional rewards for teaching in a more open way.

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46) The negative beta weight of "principal support" and job satisfaction is largely an artifact of the correlation of principal support with other variables; when their influence is held constant, the beta weight becomes negative. An examination of the scatterplot shows that the small negative zero-order correlation is explained by the fact that there were a few teachers who experienced high satisfaction even though they felt the principal provided less support; this is consistent with the strong peer support existent in School 2.

47) The scatterplot showed that there were two cases of people who liked giving help but were dissatisfied, three cases of people who disliked giving help but felt quite satisfied, and twelve who were only moderately oriented to helping others, but felt very satisfied.

In essence, what seems to have happened at School 3 was this: teachers with a helping disposition tended in turn to receive help from others; when this happened, they tended to implement open education more. But they felt little support from the principal, and were not more satisfied than teachers who implemented open education little. In effect, the principal decided to leave the pro- and anti-open education "camps" undisturbed.

School 3 was in effect a more "settled" situation than School 2 to begin with. It had fewer new pods, fewer new teachers, and fewer teachers experienced in, or actively committed to implementing open education. Both the sociometric and the path-analytic data are consistent with the interpretation that not much happened in School 3 to expand commitment to or experimentation with open education. In School 2, on the other hand, stronger "start" conditions and a clear and coherent support system emerged. Teachers in <u>both</u> schools implemented open education, as we have seen. But the probability of the occurrence was considerably higher in School 2, and it is clear why: its social system developed in such a way as to reward and support implementation.

<u>Institutionalization</u>. What accounted for the degree to which new learning approaches got "built in" to Schools 2 and 3? At the end of the early implementation period, we emphasized the existing coping skills of teachers as a force toward stabilization and continuity of practices.

We conclude that the sort of support -- especially within-team mutual support -- documented above was an additional force toward institutionalization: to the degree teams continued functioning well, aiding each other in planning and program execution, more and more stability developed at the grade level. The slight "drawing back" of several teams in School 3, and the continued cohesiveness of School 2 teams fits with this interpretation. It also appeared that careful attention to an important supplementary role -- student teacher -- did much to aid institutionalization.

It seems likely that successful stabilization of potentially disturbed relationships with parents did a great deal to stabilize the internal picture in School 2, for several reasons. First, the teachers' uniting to oppose, buffer and defuse the parents' criticisms increased the coherence of the teachers' own social system. Second, the process of opposition (and even stereotyping of parents) probably increased teachers' commitment to open education even more. And third, the means they took to communicate with parents -- the strongly self-justifying, on-paper description of the work in each pod -- probably served as a force to keep the program in place.

The fact that both schools had relatively well-functioning PTA's also aided stabilization. George's active stance toward communication with parents was important in protecting School 3 from criticism. But

it was a necessary and not a sufficient condition for stabilization of open education -- a process which depended, as we have seen, on principal commitment and the development of a support system.

We should also note that another potential force for institutionalization -- a built-in in-service program, with associated technical assistance, simply did not exist (although the majority of teachers in both schools felt it was needed). Thus institutionalization, which as we have suggested above, depended largely on the degree to which pod teams were functioning well, should probably be counted as somewhat frail, dependent on relationships that had developed in the pods. And, as we have seen, a number of the pod groups were being broken up for next year -- an event which did not bode well.

Summing Up

Implementation Success

On balance, as we have suggested, the faculties of these two new schools, aided by their principals. achieved a moderately-good implementation of a vision which was initially far from clear. Teachers developed collaboration with each other, and created learning environments which were more individualized and varied -- and to some extent student-responsive -- than had been the case in their old self-contained classrooms; more than a few did not do so. This implementation was clearly somewhat more extensive and thorough at one school than in the other.

In both schools, it seems fair to say that key stakeholders -- teachers, parents, and probably students -- were reasonably satisfied; in both schools, continued problem-solving ability seemed likely. And it seemed that life for students in both schools was no worse than it had been in previous years. Perhaps it was even better.

Main Explanations

The explanations suggested in the preceding section centered mainly on the supportiveness of the school as a social system -- its ability to insure that people who needed help could not only ask for it, but confidently receive it. In the more supportive of these two schools, it appeared that the social climate favored giving and receiving help, and that help came to implementing teachers from many different sources, both within and outside their grade-level groups. And it was clear that the process of receiving help, and the fuller implementation that resulted, were satisfying to the members of the school.

Such a closely-woven support system seemed to be somewhat dependent (just <u>how</u> dependent is hard to assess) on the style of the principal's leadership. The critical aspects of the principal's role appear to have been (a) <u>social</u> supportiveness (the development of collaborative, mutually respectful relationships with teachers); (b) the encouragement

of shared problem-solving; and, less strongly, (c) commitment to implementation of the innovation ("open education", in this case). The principal's provision of "autonomy" for teachers did not automatically further implementation: in the absence of a strong support system, "autonomy" could simply be a license for non-implementation.

Secondarily, it appeared that certain input conditions were important: teachers' prior experience with the main innovation being implemented; their interest and commitment to it; and the presence of physical facilities that permitted and to some degree encouraged new patterns of interaction among teachers and students. But these input conditions, in our view, had less weight than the "emerged" social system of the school.

And third, a more or less steady background condition seemed needed: protection of the developing schools from environmental attack. Initially, our conceptual scheme spoke of "endorsement" -- active satisfaction of parents, other citizens, the Board -- from the environment. But the lesson from the Westgate story may well be that obtaining the positive sentiments of outsiders -- these will always be less than whole-hearted -- may be less important than buffering the developing school from the effects of negative sentiment.

The irony, perhaps, is that as much implementation developed as it did, given the presence of so many potentially inhibiting factors. To name a few: (1) the basic goals and vision were both vague and not fully "owned" by key managers; (2) planners, including the principals, had very little specific understanding of what teaching methods and practices would be used in the new schools; (3) most planning and key implementation decisions involved only administrators, with little influence from teachers; (4) final implementation planning was minimal; (5) little in-service assistance was provided before start-up and during early implementation; (6) principals seemed to have little understanding of just how important the developing social system of the new schools would be in supporting implementation.

Was it luck? We prefer to believe, perhaps, in the energy and tenacity of teachers who wanted to do something new, and the willingness of principals to allow, and perhaps encourage, a supportive social system to develop.

Given those, and some degree of environmental buffering, the new schools could survive much that was irrational, poorly planned, misunderstood and downright unintelligent.*

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* Ken Braun's commentary is:

> I believe this statement is stronger than the situation truly warrants. There was some poor planning, there were and there

(cont'd. next page)

We might turn in conclusion to the conceptual scheme we have used to organize this case study.
What aspects of that scheme seemed most useful and explanatory?

Considering the "primary tasks" and their associated dilemmas, it seems clear that political stabilization was a necessary and continuing task, the sine qua non of the implementation of these new schools. As suggested above, buffering seemed the primary environmental contact -- enough to get data and maintain legitimacy -- then withdrew behind some fairly resilient walls.

It was also clear that knowledge utilization, after the technical decisions on facilities were successfully made and carried out, was minimal: the "self-reliant" horn of the dilemma could be chosen without serious damage to the enterprise.

The primary task of vision development was approached in what looked like a very desultory way. While the two central office administrators spoke of their hopes with some energy initially, there never seemed to be a crisp, well-worked out dream, tied to a coherent set of values, along with clearly-specified student outcomes. The diffuseness of the vision seemed partly a function of the "loose coupling" between administrators and principals, and of a certain unwillingness to join the issues sharply and conflictfully; both principals and administrators stood to lose if strong commitments were imposed from either side. Under these circumstances, goal revision/succession was more frequent than goal adherence; central office administrators in particular seemed more than ready to slide away from (or as Ken Braun put it later, postpone) their hopes under public pressure.

The task of social-architectural design was approached conventionally, with little appreciation of what sort of organizational design options existed -- and with little understanding, indeed, that organizational design was important, or even possible. Life would have been radically easier in both schools given some attention to designing, and implementation would perhaps have been fuller. A cynical view would hold that the conventional design was put in place by both principals exactly to inhibit implementation of open education, about which both had reservations.* Our present view is simply that the options which

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are misunderstandings, and I am sure some less than intelligent decisions were made, but I think the statement is unfair.

Ed Pallacino concurred.

* Ken Braun's comment after reading this was:

The conventional design put in place by both principals was their pragmatic response to what they viewed as their school communities'

did surface (such as the idea of pod coordinators meeting regularly with the principal) were simply dismissed as "unnecessary", rather than opposed as aiding "too much" implementation.

Finally, it seems clear (perhaps mostly because of the recency of our analysis) that the linked primary tasks of actualization and institutionalization were perhaps most central to the degree of implementation success actually achieved. The principals eschewed specially-set up feedback mechanisms in favor of day-to-day informal pulse-taking (often, intuitively-guided action), this made initially for a large amount of stress on teachers as the primary implementers, and a good deal of ignorance about what was really going on. One principal initially chose to constrain his teachers a good deal, as well as intervening in early implementation quite actively, then backed away and provided autonomy; since he was also communicating reduced goal commitment to his teachers, the net effect was to reduce implementation. The other chose to provide a good deal of autonomy from the start, and also took a non-interventive stance; he seems to have created conditions where active teacher "ownership" of the innovation and mutual supportiveness could take place. Whether as much ownership would have developed without the spring environmental crisis with parents is an open question.

In both schools, it seemed that a relatively flexible, informal approach to institutionalization occurred; it seemed primarily dependent on within-pod working relationships. Many, many aspects of each school were highly routinized (from the timing of lunch periods to the nature of report cards, attendance-taking methods, scheduling, and the review of lesson plans).* But most of these were familiar, "school as usual" routines, not directly connected with the institutionalization

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desire for reasonably traditional education in non-traditional spaces.+ It also is in line with statements made by the board of education and administration designed to reassure parents that things would be very little different from what had been going on in schools the year before. It would appear from the parent questionnaires that the board of education and the principals' perceptions were not fully in tune with the feelings of the parents with respect to innovative procedures in the new school. Nevertheless, it was those perceptions and the board's official position which resulted in a somewhat conventional design being put in place.

+Ed Pallacino concurred.

* Ken Braun comments:

The policy of the board of education dictated and still dictates uniformity in lunch periods, report cards, etc. What was a reasonably traditional board at that time has become more conservative since the opening of those schools.

of open education. It could be argued that such routines provided a sort of platform or framework within which committed and supported teachers could proceed to fuller implementation, and there is more than a little evidence to support this view. But real durability of the degree of implementation we noted would depend on institutional structures more directly connected to open education practices than those we saw.

What seemed to have been the most important or crucial planning/implementation group capabilities? In our view, when the rap session was defined as the P/I group (up until the opening of school) its most basic and prominent skill was its ability to make reasonably good-quality, well-owned decisions, along with its ability to maintain its own legitimacy and navigate well in the uncertain political environment. The rap session was weakest in its ability to be reflexive -- to gather and use data from the school system and its environment -- a fact which did not seem to endanger the enterprise give the administrators, continued willingness to manage from the top down. It also seemed true that their ability to meta-plan -- to develop a coherent and workable general strategy for planning and implementation -- got weaker and weaker the closer they came to the schools' opening.

When the implementation action moved to the level of each new school, political skills continued to be rather central as a sort of floor underneath implementation, and were, broadly speaking, well exercised. Meta-planning was almost not in evidence. The general sense from the field work and quantitative data alike is that the principal's allowing some entry by teachers into the problem-solving/decision-making arena made for better implementation. But this does not seem to have been as decisive a factor as modeling good social support and making it easy for people to help each other. It seemed that little was done in either school to enlarge teachers' sense of investment in what they were doing; that came "naturally", or did not come at all. And, as before, implementation seemed to be steered on a largely intuitive, day-to-day basis.

The conventional wisdom in the field of organizational improvement is that conflicts should be surfaced and worked through, problems should be solved collaboratively, data should flow freely, and planning should be done carefully and imaginatively. The Westgate planning and implementation process proceeded in a much more restricted fashion: conflicts were smoothed and blurred; problems were often solved from above; data were often restricted or ignored in the service of "not making waves"; and planning was both slipshod and conventional. We have seen that these strategies, while they did not produce optimum results, were not so bad. They saved energy, protected Westgate schools from deep conflicts and the risks of over-ambitious implementation, and in the short run enabled the achievement of a moderate portion of the planners' original hopes. Could these two schools have implemented open education more fully with different working assumptions -- more data using, collaborative, inventive ones? Probably -- but, we

suspect, only if the dysfunctional, risky, energy-draining aspects of such "ideal" strategies were faced and coped with.

Epilogue

Life, as it does elsewhere, went on in Westgate schools. We discontinued field work as of the summer of 1977, at the close of the first implementation year.

In January of 1978, field workers visited each school for a day to talk with people and get a flavor of what the second year had been like so far.

The district context had a familiar ring: the Board was struggling with a $175,000 deficit which might mean firing up to 20 staff members. And Ken Braun said that he and John had still been "bogged down" in the state-mandated goal-setting and planning schemes. But life in the two schools had taken some different turns.

School No. 2. Though both Jane Costanza and Helen Gallo, the school secretary, said they felt the school was "running more smoothly", and that parents seemed to be working more harmoniously with each other and with the school -- partly because some more-critical parents had withdrawn their children and sent them to parochial school -- there were some general problems. Lack of money for aides made for noise and disruption in the morning, at lunch, and the day's end. There was now a 50-minute lunch hour, and many teachers left the building for lunch. One teacher said:

> It's much more segmented and cliqueish than it was last year. Groups go out to lunch or eat together isolating themselves. Last year the problems we were having brought us all together.

And when the field worker talked with teachers in the various pods, she came to a depressing conclusion:

> I would have to say that the degree of current implementation is limited. Some individualization and variety are occurring, but student choice and self-monitoring are rare. Except for the second grade, which is going very, very well, the other grades seem to be working in mutual coexistence rather than group cooperation. The general concept in the school is basically a self-contained classroom in a pod in which all teachers do the same activities at the same time to diminish the noise level. Open education does not seem to be looked at as a particularly positive value in the school. The desire to individualize is there, but there isn't much intent to actually do it.

For example, Nadine Mann, who had implemented a very open program in the 4th grade last year (and lost her teammate Jeanne Viaggio as a result, she accurately felt) said:

> I am basically running a self-contained classroom. No learning centers. Mrs. Hoffster and Mrs. Matlow are both traditional teachers and in a sense I have learned from them, but.... We plan together, we use the same material, but the only thing we change for is reading.

Mary Hahn, who was working in the 5th grade with a teacher who had returned from maternity leave, said she was regretful that there was "little teaming" and that she was "much more traditional" this year; her partner Mrs. Dvorak was not only inexperienced in and doubtful about open education but tense about the early parent criticism about "not enough structure" they had gotten.

In the 6th grade, the issue seemed to be difficulties in team functioning: Angela Fiori had new teammates Jeanne Viaggio and Marian Richman, who seemed to feel that she was refusing overtures for more cooperative planning, even though all three were working hard and individualizing fairly well.

Where teacher support existed, the field worker noted, it was often across pods, using old relationships, rather than within new pod groups.

And even in the first grade, which had not been disturbed by transfers, there were difficulties: though they were planning weekly and working well together, they exchanged students only for reading, and learning centers were not in use. Adrienne Moravia was still very much preoccupied with noise, and said she had pressed for putting up walls to insulate the pod from the neighboring art and science rooms.

The kindergarten continued as before with little joint planning. Only the undisturbed 2nd grade group was still functioning as fully as before: Maria Hohning and her teammates were individualizing in math, phonics, and reading, along with some social studies and science, and working out problems together. She pointed to another strain, though: there were no student teachers at all this year, and though most teachers "had found them more trouble than they were worth", their absence also made for more work.

So, by and large, shifting the new team memberships in the four upper grades seemed to have caused much difficulty and retrenchment. When the field worker spoke with Ed Pallacino, he confirmed this:

> Because the teams were split up, the teachers are just starting to build rapport now. The changes really caused setbacks in the program.

However, he persisted in his previous view that "the personalities of the teachers" were the primary issue. He said he had been meeting weekly with the teams, but

> I haven't been pushing them. The teachers who haven't done open space teaching are finding it very hard. I can't force them to team if they don't want to.

And no in-service assistance had been provided for teachers.

Ed said he had conferred with George, Ken and John about a budget item for putting up walls to separate adjoining pods[48] to reduce noise, but that such a possibility couldn't happen before September. And though Ed felt the parents were happier this year, "they understand more, are more satisfied", and that the school "had calmed down", the field worker's sense was that he felt pessimistic, and did not feel the program was working well.*

So support systems are not forever. Though Ed had worried about the transfers, he did not realize until the new pods began work just how much implementation really depended on existing relationships. And even though he was spending much time with teams, his support did not seem to be working. The sense of unity among the teachers seemed to have dissolved once the parent threat subsided. The teachers' individual prior commitments to open education receded as they struggled with new team memberships. It seemed clear that a new support system needed building if open education were to return to School No. 2.

School No. 3. Some things seemed the same at School No. 3. When the field worker came in, a teacher said:

> Oh, I see you're writing another book.
>
> Field worker: No, Miles is writing the book. I just came around to see how things have gone for this year.
>
> Teacher: Well, maybe this time we'll really tell you.

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48) See floor plan, page 62.

* When he read this report in the summer of 1978, Ed was even more pessimistic. He predicted that in two years, because of community opposition to non-traditional teaching, the school would essentially be a conventional one. He thought that individualized reading and perhaps math would continue, but "not learning centers, not pupils grading each others' papers". He said, "They want individualization, but in the context of the self-contained classroom". He mused, "You start with something lively and new, and you may not end up with that at all." But like George, he seemed to be imputing causality to community attitudes, and perhaps disowning his own part in the events.

There was still a sense of undiscussed issues, playing it close to the vest. Neither this teacher or another who joked about "really telling you" carried through and said what they thought was happening.

Jan Artay's view, interestingly enough, was that there was now more team planning going on at School 3 than at School 2, and perhaps more individualization and variety as well.

Visits to classrooms provided some support for this idea. Carole Duberman, whose fully-implementing 2nd grade team had not been disturbed, said:

> It's even better than last year. We just love it. Teaming is wonderful together. We make up a file, pull stuff out as we need it. We do most of our planning at the beginning and end of the month.

In the newly-composed 3rd grade team, Marie Calisi said things were "fabulous" and that she liked (in contrast with last year) working with teammates who "all liked working in open". All three had also had previous 3rd grade experience; the team was switching students for reading, math, language, and Sharon Giotto had about half of her class doing individualized math, though Marie "wasn't that far yet". Ms. Giotto said:

> It's easier to work things now I've had a year to get used to the open space and the individualized work. And it's good to have the class smaller.

In the 4th grade, Helene Pribylski thought that things were "more open, much nicer this year"; her summer work on the science curriculum had been helpful, she thought. In addition to reading, she and her teammate Bonnie Fabrizi were switching for science and social studies; matter-of-factly she explained, "George suggested it. Actually, George told us we had to do it."

There seemed, however, little change in the 6th grade, where Jan Starr said:

> We've been doing the same thing all along, and we're not really an open space, so there's no difference for the past nine or ten years.

And in the 5th grade, though it had moved to the pod space, Mrs. Ross reported:

> We're still doing the same arrangement. I'm still doing English with everybody. Joe does math with everybody, and we switch around for social studies and science. George thought that was a good idea.

Field worker: Are you doing any team planning?

Ross: No, no team planning.

A visit to the 1st grade rooms, taught separately by Ruth Sefero and the new teacher, Carol Madison, surfaced these comments from the latter:

> I like self-contained. Things are working really well. I get along with Ruth, I get along with the principal. We plan phonics and language together. Kids can go back and forth between the classes, change any time they want to once they have their work done. I would not be happy in a pod. Kids this age have a short attention span... in the more traditional [physical] setting they understand that they have to listen...they are just learning structure, learning to work properly.

Ruth Sefero was less communicative, but the field worker noted that though the seating was more traditional in her classroom, learning centers were in evidence.

Later, when George was asked how things were going in the 1st grade, he said:

> Oh, fantastic. Madison has the same philosophy as Ruth. And they get along together, which is much more important.

But George did not sound very enthusiastic about the school in general:

> No major problems. On the whole, things are excellent. We keep shuffling along.
>
> Field worker: How is open ed doing?
>
> George: What do you mean by open?
>
> Field worker: Well, how's open space education going?
>
> George: Beautifully.
>
> Field worker: How about the open education philosophy, how's that going?
>
> George: We never claimed to be open education. We are open space, using teaming. We don't have the same as No. 2. Ed's philosophy is different, we've spoken about this. We go after things in different ways, and I daresay we end up with the same results.

Like Ed, he said he would like to have partitions in the hallway, and movable sliding doors in the pods: "sometimes just the effect of having the door there is more important than whether they use it or not".

To the field worker, George did not seem quite like his old proactive self: when he was asked where he would like to be five years from now, he said:

> Well, a college professor at a small place, financially well off and semi-retired.[49]

He also seemed concerned about the "cliques" in the school:

> All this is problems with people, and it's very, very difficult to handle things with people... I think maybe 85% of the teachers here are terrific. I'd love to get rid of the rest but I can't. Probably about 85% of the teachers feel the same way about me.

And, he suggested to the field worker:

> People can't understand what's happening if they haven't really worked in an educational setting. They don't know what it's like to come in day after day. They don't know how if you see a teacher on one day she's going to be entirely different on the next.

The field worker's general sense was that George had somehow lost energy, did not seem very much interested in moving further with implementation efforts -- even though it did appear that the recomposed teams were functioning fairly well, and the moderate degree of last year's implementation had probably stabilized and advanced somewhat. Judging from several teachers' comments, George had pushed some of them to do more teaming, and they had accepted his influence. But whether he would continue to provide support, settle for the reasonably stabilized situation (including the "cliques") in the school, or press for movement toward a more self-contained, walled set of learning environments was not clear. Though pod groups had developed (or continued) their own internal support, it still seemed that the future at School 3 depended more on its principal's commitments and actions than on anything else.

As at School 2, no in-service assistance had been provided this year. When Miles asked Ken Braun a few days later about this, he said:

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49) This mood was probably transient; when George read this report in the summer of 1978, he had just applied for the central office position left vacant by John Manganaro's early retirement. Ken Braun was also in the running.

> We've been so bogged down in [the goal-setting scheme]. And the principals have not been pushing for it. There should have been some in-service. We are losing the [open education] concept, falling by the wayside.
>
> Miles: Do you have any plans to correct the situation?
>
> Ken: No.

Life was not this gloomy: the high-implementing, undisturbed 2nd grade teams in each school were continuing to do well. Incremental improvements in implementation seemed to have happened in School 3 this year. And the struggle to rebuild team relationships in School 2 was still under way. People's good intentions were not in doubt. But perhaps their ability to deliver on those intentions was. And futures are made of what people deliver, not what they intend.

Reactions to Feedback

In July of 1978, we began the process of feeding back the case study to selected participants in Westgate for their correction and commentary. We decided to ask for reactions only from George Rieger, Ed Pallacino, Ken Braun, and Frank Manganaro. Limiting it to this group, we reasoned, would involve the most key administrative actors, and make less likely the sort of tempestuous response we had gotten in two other research sites when a wide population was involved.[50] We also decided to do the feedback serially, beginning with those who might be most vulnerable--in this case the principals.

As we began the feedback process, the situation in Westgate had changed in some new respects. Mr. Bond had just announced his retirement. Frank Manganaro had decided to resign, and was on vacation before launching his new career: joining his brother in the construction business. Both George Rieger and Ken Braun were explicitly in the running for Frank's job; the Board would make a decision before fall.

Since Ed Pallacino was on vacation, we began with George Rieger. In a brief letter, we invited his corrections of factual error, plus any alternative interpretations he might draw, which we would print. We explained that he was seeing the case prior to others, and that we did not anticipate showing it to anyone in Westgate beyond the four administrators. The letter also suggested that he be sensitive to any material in the case that might leave any participants vulnerable.

Rieger read the case rapidly, made marginal comments, and called Miles back the next day saying:

> It's a good thing I didn't have your phone number last night. I was steaming.

The main issue that had upset Rieger was an allusion in the case to a recurrent rumor about him, one we were careful to say had no foundation in fact. However, Rieger said the "disclaimer meant nothing," his career would be affected, and that he would "have to see an attorney" before talking further unless Miles was willing to be "flexible about it." When Miles said he would delete the allusion, Rieger was reassured, though he was still bothered by a number of direct quotes, including vulgar language, which he had assumed would be treated "in confidence."

A few days later, Miles met with Rieger to go over his marginal com-

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50) In a real sense, this decision can be seen as the result of a successful cooptation of us by the administrators: we too were settling for a "top-down" view of Westgate reality.

ments on the case. He again expressed the feeling that the case reported things that he had assumed were said "in confidence," and that the field worker had gone to "dissatisfied teachers" and "taken things out of context." He went carefully through his marginal comments (which have been incorporated as corrections and footnotes), explaining each one in response to Miles' questions. His basic concern, quite naturally, was that he not be seen to disadvantage: he wanted it understood that his comments in rap sessions had often been "joking"; that he had in fact provided adequate prior training for his teachers; and that his lack of support for implementation was natural, given what he saw as the Board's early opposition.

Rieger had just been interviewed by the Board for John Manganaro's job, where the "first question" was on open space and open education. He told the Board that it was much more difficult for teachers, students and parents than schools that had folding partitions, and "they agreed," a response he saw as congruent with his earlier-expressed view that the Board was basically opposed to open education. In sum, while Rieger did make some factual corrections, he was largely concerned that the case not place him in a poor position for his hoped-for mobility.[51] Though he said he had dictated a general memo with his interpretations, it never arrived, even after a reminder from Miles.

Ed Pallacino was still on vacation, so the case (with the Rieger rumor removed) went to Ken Braun. He too read it promptly, calling the next day to say that he thought it "came pretty close to hitting the nail on the head." He noted that Rieger had called him to ask how much "editorial control" the district would have over the case, saying that he (Rieger) disagreed with the conclusion that he had "camps" among his teachers. Braun pointed out to Miles that the data supported the "camps"; as might be expected, he seemed more than a little tart as he considered his rival for Manganaro's job .

Braun sent a detailed memo, which has been included as footnotes, and a final general comment. In general, his comments did not have a directly defensive character, but stressed the importance of contextual factors (such as the contract, Board policy, lack of time, Board cost-consciousness, and the superintendent's attitude); occasionally he demurred from the case's conclusions as being "unfair" or harsh.

The next revision of the case went to Ed Pallacino in early August, when he returned from vacation. In a few days he called, saying that he was "amazed" at the detail, and was "not too pleased"; he said too that the case "hurt my personal feelings." In a meeting the next day with Miles,

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51) He also said he frankly hoped Ken Braun would get Manganaro's job, and if that happened, he would be interested in Ken's job. Lacking that, he would seek a principalship elsewhere, with upward movement possibilities.

he went carefully over the case and his marginal commentary. Like George, he felt that the field worker had not seen enough "background" to have "insight" into the events.

His comments have been incorporated in footnotes. One underlying theme appeared to be that Ed wanted not to be seen as "laissez faire"; that his "not pushing" had been mandated from above, and that he had closely followed the events of implementation, had supported Mrs. Hoffster, and so on. He also stressed that the support system in School 2 had emerged not by itself, but through his direct action (see p. 76) and that "I was behind it."

Since Ed's position was secure in the district, his reactions to the case seemed more a natural effort to deal with his "hurt feelings," and to restore self-esteem.

It did seem clear that Ed had learned from the experience. He mused:

> The job of open education is very difficult. You start a team, it gets going. Then when you have maternity leave or a new batch of teachers, all that was built before goes down the drain. Every time you get a new member, you have to start over. It's not easy. Self-contained is easy.

Finally, when John Manganaro returned, we invited his corrections and commentary on the third revised version of the study. He responded quickly and cordially, concurring with the analysis, and without making corrections or detailed commentary. Manganaro's relationship with Miles had always been warm and collegial. We might also speculate that his new career outside Westgate reduced to near-zero any wish he might have had to "set the record straight" either for mobility-protecting or self-esteem maintenance purposes.

Concluding Comments from Participants

We have included a good deal of detailed commentary as footnotes along the way, from George Rieger, Ed Pallacino, and Ken Braun. Ken Braun and John Manganaro also wrote general reactions, which we reproduce here.

Ken Braun: I do not believe that the field workers fully appreciated what was supposed to be the role of the K-6 Curriculum Council in the total operation. I have alluded to the lack of intrusion of Ken and John, but it should be noted also that the curriculum council was supposed to play a key role in drawing to the attention of administration problems in the early implementation of the new schools. Agendas will show that a good deal of time was spent at each curriculum council meeting getting teachers' points of view on problems and their

suggestions for ways to alleviate those problems. That teacher input became a subject of rap sessions and/or memos to administration, and was a part of the overall decisions made during the first year of operation. It was because of some of that teacher input that Ken and John maintained a "hands off" policy for the first part of the new school year. It is my judgement that the curriculum council did a good job of bringing to the attention of administration teacher problems but were less effective in communicating back to their peers in the buildings.

I found the reading of this report interesting and a learning experience and while reading I was constantly reminded of the famous quote of the poet Robert Burns about the gift to see us as others see us.

John Manganaro. Thank you for sharing the manuscript with me. You were right -- I did find it interesting reading. There were a few points where my perception of what happened were just a shade different than yours, but they were so miniscule that I do not think they are worth the time or space involved in footnoting. In my opinion your reporting and grasp of what was happening in Westgate is very much on dead-center.

Comment from the Author

Ken Braun's comments (as embodied in earlier footnotes) are useful in drawing attention to constraining contextual factors, notably the conservatism of the board, and district policies. His assertions that the curriculum council sessions (a) caused the central office administrators to keep "hands off" and, (b) in effect, increased "loose coupling" when teachers did not report back to their building-level colleagues, are not easy to evaluate. In any case, it is clear that teachers would have welcomed more central office support than in fact was delivered.

Was the board of education genuinely opposed to "open education" from the start, as George Rieger claimed, or was his comment a retrospective rewriting of history aimed at justifying his lack of support for implementation? Noting that Ed Pallacino and Ken Braun too were gloomy about community conservatism, the idea is at least plausible. But most of the data available suggest simply that the board was ignorant of, or mostly kept in the dark, about what might actually happen in the new schools, and never expressed a forthright opposition to "open education" as such.

Ed Pallacino's assertion that he had in fact stimulated the development of the support system in his school may be true in kind, but no one had directly mentioned his role in doing so. We remain open on the question. But the existence of the support system is the crucial matter, and on this there seems little disagreement.

On balance, we do not conclude that the analysis of the Westgate experience presented here is mistaken, though it was usefully enlarged by participants' comments.

We are tempted to conclude with an epigraph from Ed Pallacino, who reflected:

> You start with something lively and new, and you may not end up with that at all.

But perhaps the issue is not so much that implementation differs from plans--hopes are in some sense always doomed to incomplete actualization. Rather, the important thing is that we--and perhaps the key figures in the Westgate drama--came to understand a bit more about <u>why</u>, and what could be done the next time through.

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